Chapter Three

THE ARRIVAL OF HORSES AND EUROPEAN TRADE: 1742-1806

The dawn of the historic era is a time when written records in conjunction with tribal oral traditions allow us to assign specific ethnic names to the American Indian populations who lived and traveled in the Black Hills. Nations with documented ties to this region in the eighteenth century include the Arapahos (and possibly Atsinas), Arikaras (and probably Pawnees), Cheyennes, Comanches (and the related Shoshones and Utes), Crows, Hidatsas, Kiowas, Lakotas, Mandans, Plains Apaches, and Poncas.

The eighteenth century history of tribal affiliations to the Hills is a complex one, marked by considerable movement and momentous change. One of the most important changes was brought about by the introduction of the horse. Horses arrived in the Black Hills area sometime during the early half of the eighteenth century. In his classic work on the subject, John Ewers (1969:1-14) suggests that horses entered this area by way of two principal routes, both originating in the American Southwest (see Figure 1). In one route, which flanked the eastern edge of the Rockies, horses were introduced to the area by Apachean peoples. In the other, Numic populations, notably the Utes and Comanches, introduced horses to the region through the interior passes and park-lands of the Colorado Rockies. By the mid-eighteenth century, horses had become a major item in the well-established trade networks that blanketed the region, connecting the horse-supplying tribes with links to the Spanish Southwest to tribes with access to French and British guns and other European commodities coming from the eastern and northern peripheries of the Plains (Jablow 1951:39-44; Ewers 1954; Albers 1993). The Black Hills became a central hub in this traffic, a place where tribes of many different backgrounds gathered together to trade (Wood 1973).

Once horses were adopted, they transformed the ways local tribes lived (Ewers 1969; Klein 1977). In time, access to horses became a defensive necessity for local tribes whose territorial ranges and very life became threatened without them (Secoy 1953). Tribes jockeyed with each other to gain access to horses, entering into alliances to protect the trade routes of which they were a part against those in neighboring and often competing chains (Jablow 1951; Albers 1993:101-102; Moore, J. 1996:82-93). They also raided one another to steal this most valued possession, which became not only a vital means of defense but also an important means of production and exchange (Albers and James 1985).

As horse ownership became a necessary condition of existence, it encouraged many groups, such as the Crows and Cheyennes, to abandon their horticultural pursuits to become full-fledged pastoralists (Moore, J. 1987:172-174; Albers 1993:108-110). It also forced some of the Apachean and Numic-speaking populations with broad-spectrum hunting and gathering adaptations to pursue more specialized procurement activities resting on pastoralism and the hunting of bison. Once the horse became commonplace in the region, the more specialized bison-hunting complexes of the prehistoric era became the prevalent economic orientation for most of the tribes who stayed around the Hills (Sundstrom, L. 1989:101-102). The adoption of horses, however, brought with it important limiting conditions, including the necessity of finding year-round locations with adequate pasturage (Albers and James 1985, 1991; Moore, J. 1987:126-174). Populations who spent most of their time on the grassland margins of the Hills easily accommodated this

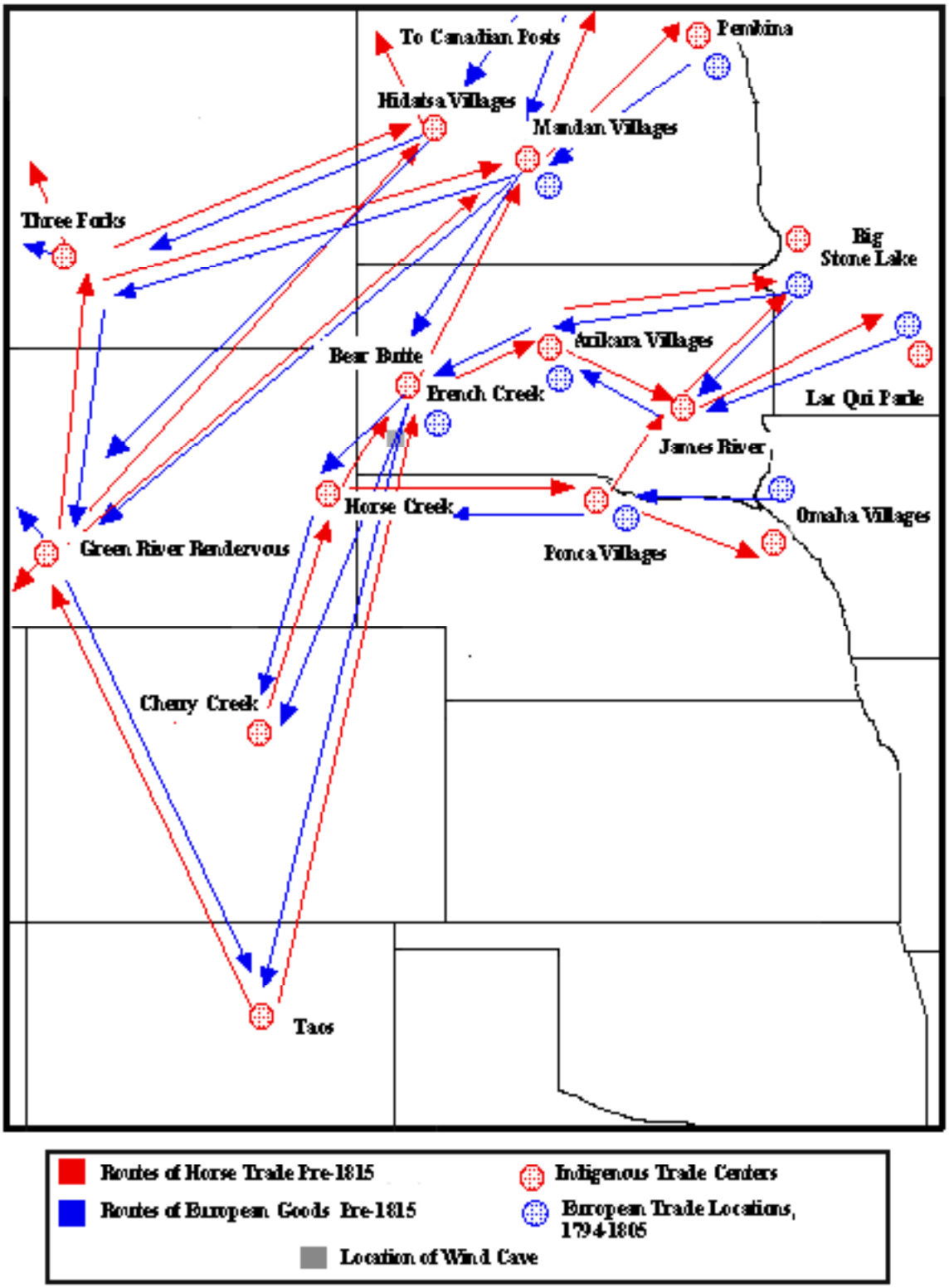
requirement, but it was not well suited to those who may have utilized the interiors on a more sustained basis. Although a decline in the year-round use of the Hills had taken place centuries earlier, the arrival of horses contributed even more to a specialized and seasonal pattern of resource procurement in the Hills' higher elevation interiors (Sundstrom, L. 1989:101-102).

When the horse became a fundamental feature of tribal lives, European traders were penetrating deeper into the plains. At the dawn of the eighteenth century, traders had just begun to reach the peripheries of the region, relying on local tribes to carry their trade goods into the heartlands in exchange for hides and peltries. In the Southwest, the Apaches, Utes, and Comanches brought hides, meat, and other resources to exchange for Spanish trade goods which they, in turn, carried to populations as far north as the Black Hills in South Dakota and the Green River in Wyoming. On the eastern and northeastern peripheries, tribes such as the Assiniboins, Crees, and Lakotas brought guns and other European commodities to the agricultural villages on the Missouri to trade for horses, and, in turn, the villagers traded these European goods to tribes west of the Missouri (Jablow 1951:6,12,22-23, 27, 30, 38, 42, 45, 53; Secoy 1953 66-67, 74; Swagerty 1988: 78-79; Albers 1996:100-111). Much of this trade took place at the villages, but some of it also occurred at rendezvous points near the Black Hills, including Bear Butte in the north, the forks of the Cheyenne River and its tributary French Creek in the east, and Horse Creek, a stream along the Platte River, in the south (Wood, 1973; Sundstrom, J.1977:5, 8).

By the end of the eighteenth century, many of the tribes who occupied locations on the peripheries of the Plains and who acted as middlemen in the European trade were by-passed by white traders now setting up their posts in the interiors along major waterways such as the Assiniboine, Saskatchewan, Missouri, and Platte rivers. The movements of traders often interrupted, and even destroyed, the lines of trade that many local tribes controlled and diligently protected (Albers and Kay 1987:73; Albers 1993:105). When Jean Baptiste Truteau and others were waylaid by the Poncas and Lakotas as they ascended the Missouri River, these were not arbitrary acts of hostility but calculated moves to prevent traders from reaching groups in the interior and thereby cutting off their advantageous positions in local trade networks (Parker, D. 1950:61-62; Jablow 1951:35-38; Wood 2003:32, 34).

Until the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, most of the traders who entered areas near the Black Hills did so to explore locations best suited for building permanent entrepots, and they remained in the area for brief periods of time. Typically, they situated their trade activities at the villages of the large horticultural tribes, the Arikaras, Mandans, or Hidatsas (Wishart 1979:48-79; Wood and Thiessen 1985:5-36). Already well-known and native-controlled trade hubs, whose commerce extended well back into the prehistoric era, the villages soon became major resting and trading spots for a growing population of European traders. Although some traders and *engages* in their employ ventured away from the villages to trap and carry on their trade, some even taking their commerce to the Black Hills, only a few of them left a record of their travels.

FIGURE 1. Eighteenth-Century Plains Indian Trade Routes



I. THE EARLY HISTORIC RECORDS

One group of traders, the La Verendrye brothers, came to the northern Plains to search for an overland route to the Pacific (Burpee 1927:406-432; Smith, H. 1980). They reached the Mandan villages near present day Bismark, North Dakota in May of 1742. Two months later on July 23, they left the villages, accompanied by two Mandan guides, and traveled overland in a west-southwest direction (Burpee 1927:407; Smith, H. 1980:105). Although the eldest brother, The Chevalier, wrote of their travels, it is impossible to determine with any degree of certainty what routes they followed and which groups they met in their yearlong journey. This has led to no end of scholarly debate on the matter. Beginning with the exchanges of South Dakota historians, Charles Deland and Doane Robinson (1914), scholars continue to debate whether their course took them to the Big Horn Mountains or the Black Hills (Hurt 1974:79-83). One thing is clear: they left a metal plate, discovered in 1916, on a hill directly across the Missouri River from present day Pierre, South Dakota, an act establishing France's claim to the region (Cassells, Miller, and Miller 1984:135). This discovery has lent some credence to the argument that part of their travels took them through regions directly north of the Hills.

What we learn from the Chevalier's journal (Burpee 1927:410-429; Smith, H. 1980:105-114) is they encountered populations with eight different names, the *Beaux Hommes* (Good Men), *Petits Renards* (Little Foxes), *Pioya* (probably Kiowa), *Gens des Cheaveux* (Horse People), *Gens des l'Arc* (Bow People), *Gens de la Belle Rivere* (People of the Good River), *Gens de la Rivere Cherise* (People of the Cherry River), and *Gens de la Flesche Collee* (Glued Arrow People). Three of the groups, the Little Foxes, Pioya, and Horse People feared another people called the *Gens des Serpeant* (Snake People). We also know that one of the groups, the *Gens des l'Arc* (Bow People), did not fear the Snake people. They had large herds of horses and possessed asses and mules, implying that they also had contact with the Spanish Southwest. Indeed, one of their leaders knew some Spanish words and was able to relate a story of a well-known incident where the Pawnee killed a group of Spanish traders in the early eighteenth century. These people also had knowledge of the ocean from slaves taken by the Snakes (Burpee 1927:413-416; Smith, H. 1980:107-108). Other than this, we cannot say much more about these groups and their locations.

Except for the Chevalier's journal, information about the Black Hills in the early half of the eighteenth century was second hand and written by traders or government officials far removed from the area. Etienne Veniard de Bourgmont claimed to have ascended the Missouri River in 1714 as far as the Arikara villages above the mouth of the Niobrara River, but it is doubtful that he ever traveled much beyond the mouth of the Osage (Hurt 1974:83-84; Norall 1988). Nonetheless, his writings offer a glimpse of a number of tribal locations that remained more or less stable until the appearance of Delisle's map of 1718 and the writings of the Mallet Brothers in 1739 **(**Blakeslee 1995). From these sources, we learn that the Pawnees and the Skidi Pawnees were located in villages on the Loup River and along the central reaches of the Platte; the Omahas were situated at the mouth of the Big Sioux River; the Padoucas lived on the upper reaches of the Niobrara, Platte and the Arkansas rivers; the Arikaras inhabited areas above the Big Bend of the Missouri River; and the Lakotas still resided in regions east of the Missouri (Hurt 1974:69-71). After the travels of the La Verendryes and until the arrival of Jean Baptiste Truteau in 1794-1795, historic documents remain sketchy but basically corroborate the tribal locations given at the beginning of the century (Hurt 1974:84-98).

At the turn of the nineteenth century, many more traders entered the region and left a much richer body of documentary evidence, including more precise information about the Black Hills. Jean Baptiste Truteau, a representative of the Spanish Missouri Company in St. Louis, made two

trips up the Missouri between 1794 and 1795, spending one winter among the Poncas and another among the Arikaras (Truteau 1914, 1921; Parker, D. 1950:19-27; Nasatir 1952:279-299). He is credited with providing the first detailed information on tribes residing near the Black Hills. James McKay and John Evans, also in the employ of the Spanish, visited the Mandans in 1787 and set up a post among the Arikaras in 1795 (Nasatir 1952:99, 106). Neither wrote detailed journals, but the documents and maps they left of their journeys provided invaluable information for future explorers traveling the Missouri River, notably, Lewis and Clark (Wood 2003).

On the 1st of October in 1800, the French gained control of the territory known as Louisiana from the Spanish under the Treaty of San Ildefanso. Between 1802 and 1804, Pierre-Antoine Tabeau (in Abel 1939) wrote an extensive narrative of his time on the Missouri River that included specific details about the Black Hills. In 1802, Tabeau accompanied the Loisel Expedition of the Missouri Fur Company and remained with this group at a post on Cedar Island above the Great Bend of the Missouri River, but a year later in 1803, he moved up river to establish his own post among the Arikaras.

1803 was also the year that the United States purchased the Louisiana Territory from the French for fifteen million dollars in a ceremony held in New Orleans on the 20th of November. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark were the first official representatives of the United States to explore the region. In their travels between 1804 and 1806, they visited Tabeau near the Arikara villages but wintered among the Mandans. Much of what they wrote about the area was learned from local traders, most of whom were located at the tribal villages along the Missouri, although two, Jon Vallé and Jean Baptiste Le Paige, wintered in the Black Hills with the Cheyennes (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:133, 226-227). Vallé's employees purportedly traded with local tribes along the Black Hills' stream that bears the name French Creek (Sundstrom, J. 1994:15). Vallé and his trappers were also reported to live and trade with local tribes at the forks of the Cheyenne River (Tabeau in Abel 1939:86-87). Another trader named Guenneville traveled extensively with the Cheyennes in the neighborhood of the Black Hills during the same period (Tabeau in Abel 1939: 87, 153).[1] The information Lewis and Clark (Moulton 1983-87:3:395-440) gathered from these and other traders was contained in their daily journal entries and also in their "Statistical Views," which included sketches of all of the tribes they encountered or heard about in their travels, including some of the most detailed information on tribes known to reside in the vicinity of the Black Hills and Wind Cave National Park. In 1806, Alexander Henry, the Younger (Coues 1965:1:383-384), a trader with the Northwest Fur Company of Montreal, also visited the Mandan villages where he learned the whereabouts of some of the tribal nations who traded there, including those who lived near the Black Hills, and between 1804 and 1806, another trader, Charles McKenzie (in Woods and Theissen 1985:221-296), recorded his observations about tribes who came to the villages from regions in the direction of the Hills.

II. EARLY TRIBAL OCCUPANCY IN THE BLACK HILLS

Combining the above accounts with evidence from tribal winter counts (Good in Mallery 1893; High Hawk in Curtis 1907-30; Kindred in Beckwith, M. 1930; Carloff in Powers, W. 1963; Blue Thunder in Howard, J. 1965b; White Bull in Howard, J. 1968; Swift Dog in Praus 1962; Red Horse Owner in Karol 1969; Howard, J. 1979; No Ears, Short Man, and Iron Crow in Walker 1982: 124-131; American Horse and Cloud-Shield in Mallery 1987) and oral traditions (Bent in Hyde 1968; Grinnell 1972; Mooney 1979) collected from the end of the nineteenth to the early

[1] In the early twentieth century, an elderly Cheyenne man (in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:35) confirmed that his people first met white men in the Black Hills.

decades of the twentieth century, we can begin to reconstruct the movements and locations of some of the named tribal nations known to have lived in and around the Black Hills. What we learn from these sources is that the Black Hills were a major crossroads where many different tribal nations came to live, trade, hunt, and war. We also learn about the tragic consequences of European diseases spreading through the region at this time. 1781 marks the year when one of the largest smallpox epidemics swept across the Plains, killing tens of thousands of people, wiping out entire villages along the Missouri River, and destroying large encampments as far north as the central Plains of Montana (Taylor 1977). This epidemic, and probably earlier ones as well, triggered important changes in the ways in which tribal nations were distributed across the region, and they contributed in one degree or another to the subsequent migrations of tribes affiliated with the Black Hills.

A. The Comanches, Shoshones, and Utes

One of the earliest references to the epidemic of 1781 comes from the journals of the Northwest Fur Company trader David Thompson (Coues 1965:2:328-335) during his years of travel on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan rivers in Canada. In 1787, he related a story from a Cree leader named Saukamapee who told of a time, circa the 1730s, when the joint forces of his tribe and the Blackfeet first saw their enemies, the Shoshones, fight them with horses. He also reported that sometime around 1781, these tribes discovered a Shoshone campsite on the Montana Plains where all the inhabitants had died from smallpox. From this and other fur trade reports of the time as well as the tribal traditions of the Flathead, collected in the early twentieth century by James Teit (1927-28:316-322), we know that Numic-speaking peoples, notably the Shoshones and Bannocks, occupied a vast stretch of territory extending south from the Canadian border through central Montana to the sagebrush steppes west of the Big Horn and Laramie Mountains in Wyoming. When the La Verendrye brothers arrived in the area in 1742, the "Snakes" (Shoshones) had retreated across the mountains after destroying a camp of Horse People. These mountains were either the Black Hills or the Big Horns (Smith, H. 1980:106). Truteau (in Nasatir 1952:376) wrote that Snakes were not well known where he traded on the Missouri because they occupied areas on the upper reaches of this river beyond the Crows. Gen. George H. V. Collot's map of 1796, which was based on information he received from Truteau, situated them to the west of the Yellowstone River and the Big Horn Mountains (Hurt 1974:123). A decade later, Lewis and Clark located the Shoshones west of the Big Horn Mountains and wrote that they shared an alliance with the Crows and Mandans with whom they traded horses (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:4:436-437; Shimkin 1986:308-310). Two years earlier, Antoine Laroque (in Wood and Theissen 1985:170) observed a group of Shoshones traveling with the Crows to the Mandan villages. In the early twentieth century, Calico, an Oglala Lakota, told Clark Wissler (1912:78-79) how the Lakotas were taught the Night Dance by the Cheyennes who, in turn, had learned it from the Kiowas. He then went on to say that these two tribes, along with the Arapahos, Utes, and Shoshones, once occupied locations east of the Black Hills.

Tabeau (in Abel 1939:160) linked the Shoshones with two other populations that he called the *Pele* and *Altines.* The ascription *Aliatan* and its variants, according to James Mooney (1979: 167) and Frederick Hodge (1907-10:1:1064), was probably another Numic-speaking group, the Utes, although Lewis and Clark used it synonymously with the name Snakes. More recently, Thomas Kavanagh (2001:903) has linked this name to the Comanches too, but this does not necessarily exclude the Utes with whom they had had a long history of intermarriage. Another name, *Ietan*, was applied to a well-known horse-trading population formed through intermarriages between Ute-Comanches and Apaches in southeastern Colorado. This ethnically mixed population was known to travel widely over the high plains region at the base of the Rocky

Mountains. In Lewis and Clark's writings, a probable variant of this name, *Staetan*, was applied to a population who were closely associated with the Arapahos and lived with them at locations along the South Fork of the Cheyenne River (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:26-27, 423). In later years, the name *Ietan* was used primarily in reference to the Comanches (Hyde 1959:99, 201; Wedel 1959:76; Mooney 1979:167; Kavanagh 1996: 69, 128).

By the time the La Verendryes arrived in the region, the Comanches had already broken away from the main body of Shoshones and were beginning to migrate east and then south along the eastern flanks of the Colorado Rockies. According to George Hyde (1959:52-91), the Utes first brought the Comanches to Taos in 1707, probably a decade or two after they introduced horses to them, and together, these two tribes regularly raided Spanish settlements and Apache communities in northern New Mexico and western Texas. At the same time, some of the Comanches began to extend their territorial reach to the edge of the Black Hills in the eastern plains of Wyoming. Others, however, moved south, establishing their principal territorial ranges beyond the Arkansas River in Colorado where the vast majority were located by the 1740s. The ability of the Comanches to expand their territorial range beyond the mountain parklands of Colorado and Wyoming was a function, in large part, of what had befallen the Apachean groups, commonly called the Padoucas, who dominated the Plains on the southern edge of the Black Hills before 1725. Whether from epidemic disease or the raiding of tribes equipped with guns and ammunition, the Padoucas lost their hold over territories east and south of the Black Hills, opening the area to Comanche expansion (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:5-9; Hyde 1959:65-92; Kavanagh 1999:63-132).

As late as 1794, the Comanches were reported at locations within easy reach of the Black Hills. Truteau (Nasatir 1952:379) located them on the Platte River, ten days march (sixty to eighty leagues) from the Arikara villages on the Missouri. In the same time period, Francois Marie Perrin du Lac wrote about battles taking place between the Comanches and the Cheyennes at locations east of the Black Hills (Grinnell 1972:1:38). Most probably the Comanches involved in these battles were members of the northernmost branch of the tribe, known as the *Yamparika* [Wild Carrot Eaters], a name they shared in common with a division of the Utes (also known as the White River band). These were probably the Comanches whose territorial range straddled the two forks of the Platte River and extended north towards the Black Hills (Kavanagh 2001: 887).

It should also be noted that in the oral traditions of the Comanches and Kiowas (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:27-28; Hyde 1959:60-61; Wedel 1959: 75-77; Mooney 1979:162-164), some of the *Kwahada* Comanches remained far to the north in historic times as well, separated from the main body who, in the time of Lewis and Clark's visit, were located along the Arkansas River in Colorado and as far south as the Canadian River in Texas (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:437-438; Kavanagh 1996:148-158). The *Kwahada* had close relations with the southern Kiowas when they still lived in the Black Hills, and, in later years, they continued to be intimately associated with them (Hyde 1959:60-61). Farther north, notwithstanding hostilities between Kiowas and Comanches south of the Arkansas, small groups of Comanches and even Shoshones were known to live and travel in some of the larger Kiowa camps after this tribe moved their territories to locations well south of the Black Hills (Mayhall 1971:44-45,52). Regardless of their specific identity, it is clear that some of the Comanches occupied areas on the western and southern margins of the Black Hills into the nineteenth century.

Evidence for the presence of the Comanches in the neighborhood of the Black Hills also comes from other tribal oral traditions. Ponca and Crow traditions indicate that they first learned of and received horses from the Comanches at locations near the Black Hills in the early half of the 18th century (Fletcher & La Flesche 1973:1:79-80; Voget 2001:695). Some Cheyennes also maintained that when they first moved to the Black Hills, they acquired horses from the Coman-

ches and also learned how to dress hides in one piece from them (Bent in Hyde 1968:17-18; Marriott and Rachlin 1975:94-98). Along with the Kiowas, the Comanches were reputed to make the best robes (Bent in Hyde 1968:17-18).[2] The Lakotas also recognized the Comanches' early presence in the Black Hills (Calico in Wissler 1912:79). Because of their early and widespread association with the introduction of the horse to tribes in the Black Hills' region, the Comanches make a good candidate for the peoples the LaVerendrye's identified as the *Gens des Cheaveux.*

B. Apaches

Like the Numic-speaking Comanches, Shoshones, and Utes to their west, Apachean-speaking peoples were known to have occupied an enormous swath of territory extending from the eastern plains of Montana through eastern Wyoming and western South Dakota to the plains of western Texas and adjoining areas of New Mexico. This was an internally diverse population, which included groups known as *Padouca* and also *Gattaka* (Plains or Kiowa Apaches) (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988:11-16).

From prehistoric times to the early historic era, there is overwhelming historic evidence that a region extending from the Bad River in the north to the upper reaches of the Arkansas River in the south was inhabited by a large population of Apachean speaking people known as the Padoucas. Strong archaeological evidence also supports the presence of this population near the Black Hills during protohistoric times. Not only were their settlements situated at locations as close as the South Fork of the Cheyenne River, but there is lithic evidence of their presence inside the Hogback in the southeastern Black Hills as well (Wedel 1959:589-599; Gunnerson 1960, 2001).

In 1719, Jean-Baptiste Bénard de La Harpe learned from the Wichitas that the Padoucas had large numbers of horses, which they traded to the Arikaras (Foster and McCullough 2001:927-928). This makes the Padoucas a possible candidate for the tribal nation the La Verendryes identified as the Bow People in 1742. This identification is recommended for two reasons. First, the introduction of the bow and arrow in the northwestern Plains is commonly associated with the prehistoric Avonelea complex, widely reputed to be proto-Apachean in origin. Second, the Bow People were a population who owned large numbers of horses, asses, and mules, and followed a leader who knew Spanish words and historic events that had taken place much farther south (Smith, H. 1980:107-110). Both of these facts suggest a people with continuing access to the Southwest, which at this point in time would have been a group of Apaches, Comanches, or Kiowas, although Douglas Parks (2001b:968) argues that they might have been a division of the Pawnees or Arikaras because of their association with "forts," a term most often applied to the palisaded villages of horticultural populations. He also recommends this identification because of other contemporaneous reports of a people named *Gens de l'Arc* living in four villages near the Arikaras. The association of the Bow People with villages, however, does not eliminate the Padoucas, who, in contrast to some of the other Apaches in the region, were known to have occupied village settlements and followed a more semisedentary existence (Wedel 1959:73,589-599; Gunnerson 1960; Tweedie 1968; Blakeslee 1995:38).

The Padoucas were also among the first Apaches to adopt the use of horses in warfare, and

[2] In Rudolph Petter's dictionary (1913-15:583-584), the Cheyennes had several different names for tribal nations in the Numic language family. *Paanaxceo* was the term for Bannocks and also Paiutes, while the Shoshones were called *Sosone* or *Moeomhetaneo* [Grass lodge people], the Utes *Moxtavataneo* [Black people], and the Comanches *Sisinovozhetaneo* [Rattlesnake People]. The Lakotas and/or Dakotas had the some of the same names for these groups. The Utes were known as *Sapa wicasa* [Black men], the Shoshones as *Sussuni* or *Pejiwokeya Oti kin* [Grass lodge dweller], and the Comanches were called *Sintehla wicasa* [Rattlesnake men] (Buechel 1970:733; Williamson 1970:35).

they were well known in the seventeenth century for their equestrian raids against the Pawnees in central Nebraska. By the mid-eighteenth century, their fortunes changed when the Pawnees, and, at times, the Poncas attacked them. Both of these nations were now well armed with guns and ammunition (Hyde 1959:63-92; Fletcher & LaFlesche 1972:1:79-80). As a result of this warfare, and possibly epidemic disease as well, most of the Padoucas eventually abandoned their northern settlements, although some appear to have remained in the area and become absorbed into other tribal bodies (Foster and McCullough 2001:927-928).

In a letter dated December 12, 1785, Estevan Miro, the Governor-General of Louisiana, reported the presence of Padoucas (or Toguibacos) on the headwaters of the Bad River when he wrote:

> The Pados were in former times the most numerous nation on the continent but wars other nations made against them have destroyed them to such an extent that at present they form only small groups who go wandering from one side to the other continually (*quoted from* Hurt 1974:112).

By the time of Lewis and Clark's Expedition in 1804-1806, the Padoucas were reported to have disappeared as a distinct group (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:438-439), and they were identified with a small remnant band, called *Dotame*, who lived between the two forks of the Cheyenne River west of the Black Hills but ranged as far south as the Loup Fork of the Republican River. They were reported as close allies of the *Catakas* and the *Nemousins* (probably Arapahos) and trading partners of the Arikaras (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:425-426, 439). The *Dotame* were also mentioned by Tabeau (in Abel 1939:132) in 1803. Although various attempts have been made to affiliate the *Dotame* with other tribal nations in the region, including the Comanches and Cheyennes, none of these connections are very convincing (Parks 2001b:969).

The other Padoucas appear to have either joined forces with Apachean populations in the Southwest and/or to have been absorbed into the ranks of neighboring populations, including some of their erstwhile rivals, the Plains Apaches and Comanches (Hyde 1959:28-92; Wedel 1959:69-75, 77-78; Gunnerson 1960; Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988:11-16; Foster and McCollough 2001:927-928). As reported by James Mooney (1979:248), one elderly Apache told Captain W. P. Clark that he had been born near the Badlands of South Dakota around 1780. Although the Padouca Apaches disappeared as a distinct tribal body, the name, Padouca, persisted. In later years, this name was commonly applied to the Comanches, [3] who had taken over much of the Apachean Padouca's former territorial range near the Black Hills (Wedel 1959:77-78).

Another group of Plains Apaches located in the region of the Black Hills was first mentioned in the historic record under the name *Gattacka* by René-Robert Chevalier de La Salle. When he visited the Wichita villages in 1681, he described them as a horse-trading people who visited New Mexico in association with the *Manrhout*, a group that some scholars now identify as the Kiowa (Mayhall 1971:23-25; Foster and McCollough 2001:927; Parks 2001b:966). Years later, they may have been referred to as the *Tokiouakos*, who traveled with the Arapahos and Kiowas in Truteau's writings (in Nasatir 1952:379). This name has been linked as well to the people known as the *Petit Renards* in La Verendrye's journal (Parks 2001b:969-970). These Apaches were also

[3] The Poncas and Omahas called the Comanches "Padoucas," which suggests that the Comanches may have already overtaken much of the area southeast of the Black Hills by the 1740s, an area once dominated by the Apachean speaking Padoucas (Fletcher & La Flesche 1972:1:79-80). These Padoucas had bows made from elk horn, their horses were covered with an armor of hide, and they carried long shields. The armor and shields, however, suggests Apachean rather than Numic-speaking peoples (see Secoy 1953). Whatever the origins of the Padoucas of Ponca memory, they were a population with whom the Ponca alternately traded and fought (Fletcher & La Flesche 1972:1:79-80).

present in Tabeau's narrative (in Abel 1939:132, 154) as the *Cartarkas* and listed among the people who gathered at the foot of the Black Hills to trade with the Cheyennes and Arikaras. Lewis and Clark called them *Cataka*. They located their settlements on the western side of the Hills between the two forks of the Cheyenne River, but they noted that their territorial range extended farther north towards the Yellowstone River. They also described them as allies of the Kiowas and trading partners of the Arikaras (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:136, 423-424).

In both recorded history and in oral tradition, the Plains Apaches, who call themselves *Na-I-sha* (Foster and McCollough 2001:938) were closely aligned with the Kiowas. They either met the Kiowas when they arrived in the Black Hills or migrated with them from Montana in the middle decades of the eighteenth century (Mooney 1979:254-255). These Apaches also maintained strong ties with another Athapascan-speaking population, the Sarsi, who were closely connected to the Blackfeet of Montana. Despite the distances separating them, the two populations made long-distance trips to visit one another in the nineteenth century. Even the Kiowas, in whose camp circle these Plains Apaches commonly dwelled, had Sarsi ancestors in their genealogies (Mooney 1979:160).[4] An interesting piece of evidence that lends support to the theory that La Verendrye's Horse People might have been Plains (Kiowa) Apache is the Cheyenne tradition that they received some of their first horses from this tribe and knowledge of a particular horse medicine from them near Bear Butte (Bent in Hyde 1968:17-21; Stands In Timber and Liberty 1967:244-245).[5] Even more importantly, these Apaches and their Kiowa allies were the only known people from the Black Hills region, besides the Comanches and Padoucas, to have moved back and forth from the southern Plains at an early date. In their southerly travels, both populations clearly had access to horses, but most likely, it was these Apache or their Padouca relatives who first introduced horses to populations living in the region of the Black Hills. Thus, it would not be surprising if the Horse People the La Verendryes met in 1742 were a group of Plains (Kiowa) Apaches. If not, then the most likely candidate for the enigmatic "Horse People" are the Comanches, since so many tribes report that they acquired their first horses from them.

C. Kiowas

Aside from the Snakes, only three other native populations can be identified with any confidence in the La Verendrye journal, and one of these is the, *Pioya* which in all likelihood is a corruption of the name Kiowa or *Ga'igwu* (the name the Kiowa call themselves and probably the original nucleus of the Kiowa tribe) (Mooney 1979:228). The Kiowas trace their origins to the Three Forks of the Missouri River in the mountains of Montana, where, after an internal dispute, half of the tribe left their homelands to migrate to regions along the Yellowstone River east of the Crows. At the turn of the eighteenth century, they were closely aligned not only with the Crows but the Arapahos as well. In fact, it was at this time that they received their sacred Sun Dance medicine, which originated with the Crows and was given to an Arapaho man who married into the Kiowa tribe. As late as the 1880s, the keepers of this medicine were required to trace their descent to an Arapaho ancestor (Mooney 1979:242). It was also during the early eighteenth century that many sacred stories emerged about Bear Lodge Butte (Devil's Tower), Bear Butte, and the Black Hills more generally (Mooney 1979:160). From the Yellowstone, the Kiowas report they migrated to the northern edge of the Black Hills, where they stayed until 1760 when they

[4] There is also a tradition among the Cheyennes of their people having other close ties with Apachean speaking peoples, who the Cheyenne called *Mozeheonetan* [People of the Rasp Fiddle] (Petter 1913-15:582). Petter (Ibid: 583) argues the people the Cheyennes called *Sasap* were probably the Sarsi.

[5] The Kiowa Apaches have a number of traditions linking the origins of some of their most sacred medicine bundles to Bear Butte (McAllister 1937:162-163, 1964).

moved to the South Fork of the Cheyenne River, where they remained for thirty years before traveling south to the Platte River (Mooney 1979:153-154).

The Kiowa's own oral traditions closely match what appears in the historic documents for this period. After 1742, when the La Verendryes encountered them somewhere north of the Black Hills, they do not appear in the records of the northern Plains until Truteau writes about them in 1794 as two of the three tribes who regularly accompanied the Cheyennes on trading expeditions to the Arikara villages on the Missouri. They were clearly the tribe Truteau (in Nasatir 1952: 379) identified as the *Cuyahoga*, but they were also undoubtedly represented by a second tribe, the *Pitapahato.* Even though Truteau stated that this group spoke a different language than the *Cuyahoga*, *Pitapahato* is probably a corruption or derivation of *Witapaha* (Island Hill) (Mooney 1979:150-151). *Witapaha* is an old Lakota name for the Black Hills and the people who lived there, the Kiowas, and it is one the Cheyennes, Arikaras, and Pawnees also used for the Kiowas (Petter 1913-15:582; Parks 2001b:970). It is also an ascription that the Lakotas apparently applied to a segment of the Cheyennes (Vestal 1934:264; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:314). It is possible that traders gave this name to one of the divisions of the Kiowa known as the *K'uato* (Pulling Up), who spoke a different dialect of the Kiowa language and lived in areas near the southern Black Hills where they intermarried with the *Wotapio* band of Cheyenne (Moore, J. 1987:218-222). The name *Witapahato* disappeared as a distinct tribal identity in the historic record not long after 1780, when Kiowa oral tradition tells us that the *K'uato* were exterminated in a battle with the Lakotas (Mooney 1979:229).

In 1796, Collot's map showed the *Pitapahata* on Cherry Creek, a tributary of the Cheyenne River and the *Kayo* (Kiowa), along with an unidentified group, the *Tokiwako* (probably a group of Plains Apache), on the South Fork of this river (Hyde 1951:40; Hurt 1974:105-106). During the next decade, Tabeau (in Abel 1939:132) recorded the *Kayo* but not the *Pitapahato* among the groups who traded with Arikaras and Cheyennes at the foot of the Black Hills. In the same time period, Lewis and Clark listed the *Kiwis* and *Wetepahatoes* together and reported that both lived on the North Fork of the Platte River with 70 tipis, 200 warriors, and 1000 souls. They wrote that their territorial range extended to the southwestern Black Hills, and that they were closely aligned with the *Kanenavish* (Arapahos). They also noted that the Kiowas traded their horses to the Arikaras, Mandans, and Hidatsas and bartered what they received from these groups with the *Dotomes* and *Castahanas* (possibly a group of Atsina) (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:421-422).

D. Arapahos and Atsinas

In the historic records of the early nineteenth century, the Arapahos were almost always reported in association with the Kiowas, and they were most commonly identified as *Blue Bead* or some variant of their Arikara name, *Tuhknihna: wish* (Color Bead Village) (Fowler 1986: 309 n28). They were also listed as *Gens de Vash* (Buffalo People) (Fowler 2001:860). Like the Kiowas and Plains Apaches, the Arapahos entered the Black Hills region from the north after they broke away from their Astina (Gros Ventres) relatives. It is nearly impossible from the vantage point of the Canadian records to separate the two when references to their existence appear in seventeenth-century accounts based on information collected in the vicinity of the Saskatchewan River (Gussow 1974:40-41). Arapaho oral traditions claim that they separated from the Atsinas sometime in the eighteenth century over a quarrel in some accounts and, in others, during a plague (Trenholm 1970:15-16). However, in 1897, Left Hand of the Southern Arapahos told Hugh Scott (1907:558) the following:

> We originated in the north beyond the Missouri river, and became separated by the breaking up of the ice on the Missouri river --that is the way we left some of our people up there. After we came south to the Black Hills we separated again because the Northern Arapaho preferred to stay north and we preferred to come south because there were more horses and a milder climate.

In Kiowa oral traditions, the Arapahos, along with the Crows, were in the vicinity of the Yellowstone River in the early eighteenth century. In Cheyenne traditions, the Arapahos were first encountered when the Cheyennes started to move to the Black Hills around 1750 (Bent in Hyde 1968:17-18). The Cheyennes report that, when they arrived on the northern side of the Hills, the region was occupied by Kiowas, Plains Apaches, Comanches, Arapahos, and Crows.

In 1794, Truteau listed them as the *Caminanbiches* and also as *Tocaninanbiche*, one of the three tribes allied with the Cheyennes, who often accompanied them to trade at the Arikara villages on the Missouri (Nasatir 1952:301, 379). In 1796, the Collot map placed the "Red Bead" people on the Yellowstone River (these are probably Atsinas), the "Blue Bead" nation on the headwaters of the Little Missouri River, and the *Tokaninambich* on the south branch of the Cheyenne River (Hyde 1951:40; Hurt 1974:122, 123). Several years later, Perrin du Lac noted that the Arapahos hunted in the summer with the Cheyennes at the forks of the Cheyenne River (Gussow 1974:58-59). Tabeau (in Abel 1939:87, 153-155) reported them in association with the Cheyennes, not only trading on the Missouri but also at the foot of the Black Hills. In Lewis and Clark's descriptions, the *Cannenavich* were located on the upper reaches of the Platte and the South Fork of the Cheyenne River but traveled with the Cheyennes as far west as the Big Horn Mountains (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:487-488). In 1806, the trader, Alexander Henry, the Younger, also mentioned them living in the vicinity of the Black Hills and on the Missouri in association with the Cheyennes (Coues 1965:1:383-384). Tribal historian Tom Shakespeare (1971:27) wrote that by the first decade of the nineteenth century the Arapahos were not only actively trading with Cheyennes in and around the Black Hills but hunting with them as well. The close relationship between these two tribes was apparently maintained at locations along the north and south branches of the Cheyenne River and farther south along the Platte River (Scott 1907:549).

Besides their close trading partnerships with the Cheyennes, the Arapahos maintained trade ties with the Arikaras and other village tribes on the Missouri (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:487-488). They were also affiliated with two other populations, the *Staetan* and *Kite*, whose tribal identities have been a source of some debate (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:423). The *Staetan* are identified as a tribe of Kites of the *Canenavich* tribe on Lewis and Clark's map. The *Staetans* are variously linked to the *Ietan*, a group of mixed-Ute, Comanche, and Apache, well known in earlier Spanish records (Hyde 1959:99, 183, 201), and to the *Sutaio* branch of Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:2:11). More likely, given Lewis and Clark's descriptions, both groups were names of divisions within the Arapaho tribal nation, even though they may have had foreign origins (Fowler 2001:860).

Another possible Arapaho group is the one identified by Tabeau (in Abel 1939:104) as the *Nimoussines*, which probably derives from the Cheyenne ascription, *Nomsin'neo*, which means 'southerners' (Fowler 2001:861). Whether this population is Arapaho, as Loretta Fowler claims, or Cheyenne, as John Moore (1987:67-68) argues, is hard to determine. They were probably not a group of Comanches, as Frederick Hodge[6] (1907-10:1:28) once suggested. Regardless of their

[6] The argument for a Comanche connection is based on the name the Comanche call themselves, which is *Neme* [People].

ethnic origin, Lewis and Clark placed the *Nemousin* on the headwaters of the North Fork of the Cheyenne River and reported that their territorial range, which extended from the Yellowstone in the north to the Loup Fork of the Republican River in the south, was shared in common with the *Datome* and *Cataka*. They also described them as being aligned with the Kiowas and occasional trading partners of the Arikaras (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:425-426). This is another one of the groups who traded at the foot of the Black Hills with the Arikaras and Cheyennes (Tabeau in Abel 1939:87, 153-155; Hyde 1959:189).

The Astinas, the Arapaho's close relatives, were identified separately as the *Castehana* and the *Paunch* Indians in Lewis and Clark's journals, but at this point in history, most of this population appears to have been located in regions north of the Big Horn Mountains and the Yellowstone River (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:426-429). Indeed, most early nineteenth century historical documents place the Atsinas at locations in northcentral Montana near the Judith Basin (Fowler and Flannery 2001:678). The Atsinas ranged farther south to visit the Arapahos, and some even spent extended periods of time encamped with them at locations south and west of the Black Hills along the Platte River (Fowler 1987:45-47). Unlike the Arapahos, however, they were never reported at locations in and around the southeastern Black Hills where Wind Cave National Park is located.

E. Crows

The Crows, who call themselves *Apsaroke*, were an offshoot of the Hidatsas (Voget 2001: 715). They once lived on the prairies northeast of the Missouri River, near present-day Spirit Lake (a.k.a. Devil's Lake), North Dakota, and with their Hidatsa relatives, they migrated to the Missouri River and established villages there sometime around 1200 A.D. (Ibid: 695). According to their own oral traditions, the Crow separated from their Hidatsa relations in the late seventeenth century and moved southwest along the Yellowstone and Little Missouri rivers where they came in close contact with the Kiowas and the Arapahos. By the middle of the eighteenth century, they were closely allied with both populations, but especially the Kiowas, living and traveling with them in the northwestern areas of the Black Hills (Ibid:695; Mooney 1979:153-154, 242).

There is no question that Crows lived in the vicinity of the Black Hills; they were probably the *Beaux Hommes* the La Verendrye brothers encountered in 1742 (Parks 2001b:967). At this point in history, the Crows appear to have been well established in areas northwest and west of the Black Hills along the valley of the Little Missouri River, although they clearly traveled to areas east and south of the Hills on trading and raiding expeditions (Garnett in Friswold 1976: 130). Unlike their Arapaho and Kiowa allies, the main bodies of Crows, the *Wirresapere* [Mountain Crows] and *Pelacciwiraxpake* [River Crows], do not appear to have had any extensive or long-term territorial connections to the southern reaches of the Black Hills (Voget 2001:695), although they certainly entered this area to wage war on the Lakotas (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:25-26). Additionally, small family or band groups no doubt took up residence and traveled with the Arapahos and Kiowas whose territorial range during this period most definitely included the southern Black Hills and the upper reaches of the Platte River.

In 1796, Collet's map places them on the Yellowstone River (Wood 2003:50). A decade later, Lewis and Clark (in Moulton 1983-87:3:428) and others (Laroque in Wood and Theissen 1985:170**)** reported the Crows had ties with the Arapahos and Kiowas' dreaded enemies, the Shoshones, from whom they were procuring most of their horses. Their Shoshone connections became increasingly important in the early nineteenth century as their access to other horse sup-

pliers, notably the Kiowas, was cut off by the territorial expansions of the Cheyennes and Lakotas (Voget 2001:696-698). Indeed, as discussed in the next section, alliances with the Shoshones may have been one of the factors that precipitated a later break down in the Crows' ties to the Arapahos and a disruption of the Arapahos' friendship with the Kiowas.

F. Cheyennes and Sutaios

There are many stories in Cheyenne oral traditions recounting their migrations from Minnesota to the Sheyenne River in North Dakota and then to the Missouri River in the early decades of the eighteenth century (Bent in Hyde 1968:3-16; Grinnell 1972:1:25-33; Moore, J. 1987:89-125), although one of their tribal historians, Black Moccasin, reckoned they had moved to the Missouri as early as the late seventeenth century (Powell 1969:1:22). In these travels, the Cheyennes met another group, the *Sutaio*, who spoke the same language and eventually became incorporated into their camp circle (Bent in Hyde 1968:12-14). Together, the Cheyennes and their Sutaio allies crossed the Missouri River. According to the stories of Bear Woman and Old Woman (Bent in Hyde 1968:14-15), they moved across the Missouri between the Mandan and Arikara villages somewhere near the present site of Fort Yates, North Dakota. While living on the Missouri, they continued to plant corn and other crops.

Although some scholars have suggested that the Horse People of the La Verendrye expedition were Cheyennes (Hurt 1974:93), this is doubtful given other historical evidence that places them on or near the Missouri until the 1760s. The more likely candidates in the La Verendrye journal for a Cheyenne identity are the *Gens de la Flesche Collee* (Glued Arrow People), who the La Verendryes met on their return trip to the Mandan villages seven days north of the Arikara village at Pierre, South Dakota (Smith, H. 1980:113). These people have also been linked to the Lakotas on equally plausible grounds (Parks 2001b:968). Whatever the case, Bear Woman and Old Woman told George Bent (in Hyde 1968:16) that while living on the Missouri, the Cheyennes made two annual trips up the courses of the Cheyenne and Grand rivers and gradually moved their hunts southwest to the Black Hills.

It is not until Truteau's accounts of 1794-1795 that we begin to get a more exact picture of Cheyenne locations and movements, which many scholars argue took place incrementally one band at a time (Holder 1970:90-97; Moore, J. 1987:85). As reported in their own oral traditions, the Cheyennes abandoned their Missouri River settlements before the outbreak of smallpox in 1781 and moved their villages to the Cheyenne River (Bent in Hyde 1968:16). According to Truteau (in Nasatir 1952:301), they were located on Cherry Creek, a tributary of the river that bears their name, situated midway between the Arikaras on the Missouri and the Kiowas and Arapahos, who were closer to the Black Hills. Here, they built permanent lodges, planted corn, and occupied three villages named *Ouisy, Chouta,* and *Cheynne* (Truteau in Nasatir 1952:379). In Collot's map of 1796, the Cheyennes were located just below the confluence of the north and south forks of the Cheyenne River (Hurt 1974:106; Wood 2003:50).

Perrin du Lac wrote of the years between 1801 and 1803 that the Cheyennes lived along the river bearing their name and hunted buffalo on the plains as far south as the Platte River, and that they shared this area with the Kiowas, Arapahos, Plains Apaches, and the Witapahatos (possibly a mixed group of the Kiowa/Cheyenne) (Gussow 1974:58-59). By the time Tabeau entered the region in 1802, many of the Cheyennes had given up horticulture, turning to a life centered on hunting and pastoralism. In their new adaptation, they came to inhabit the entire region between the Missouri and Black Hills. George Bird Grinnell (1983:1:9-10) indicates that some of them were now camping on the upper reaches of the White River. The Cheyennes still maintained a

strong middleman position, with the Arikaras on one side and the Arapahos, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches on the other. They were reported to accompany the Arikaras when this tribe attended the trading rendezvous at the base of the Black Hills (Tabeau in Abel 1939:151-153). Some of the tribes that Tabeau described as trading at the edge of the Black Hills, including the Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Arikaras, constituted a trade block whose members stood together in competition to another alliance that joined the Mandans and Hidatsas with the Crows and then the Shoshones, Flatheads, and Nez Perces (Voget 2001:695-697; Hoxie 1995:31-46). In these long-distance trade chains, the horses, meat, and hides of the nomadic tribes were bartered against the corn and tobacco of the semisedentary villagers, who also traded guns and other commodities acquired from tribes with access to the commerce of the French and British farther east. The tribes in each trade chain generally cooperated with each other, while the tribes in opposing chains competed and sometimes fought one another over access to horses and European trade goods (Albers 1993:101-112).

Lewis and Clark described the Cheyennes' territorial range as situated on both sides of the Black Hills along the two forks of the Cheyenne River (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:420-421), but, elsewhere, they reported that it also extended to the Big Horn Mountains (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:487-488). Zachary Gussow (1974:28) notes that the original map Lewis and Clark sent back, which first appeared in 1807, showed the Cheyennes and various Plains Apache groups encircling the Black Hills. The Cheyennes were clearly the largest of these tribal nations, with an estimated 110 lodges, while the combined figure for the rest was 50 lodges.

In his letters to George Hyde (1968), George Bent, the son of a trader and a Cheyenne woman, described how the Black Hills were the area in which the Cheyennes acquired horses from the Comanches, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches sometime between 1750 and 1775. He also indicated that this was the location where most of the Cheyennes gave up farming to pursue a lifestyle centered on horse-raising, hunting, and the procural of wild plant foods. He related how tribal elders remembered the antelope pits they built at the headwaters of the Little Missouri River, and how they learned this technique of hunting from the Kiowas (Bent in Hyde 1968:17-21). It was in the country of the Black Hills that the Cheyennes became closely connected to the Arapahos, who remained their staunchest allies until their settlement on reservations (Bent in Hyde 1968: 21) and who joined them in wars against the Utes, Shoshones, and Crows that lasted until the reservation period (Moore, J.1987:115-116). It was here as well that much of their sacred knowledge was reconsecrated and tied to Bear Butte (Bent in Hyde 1968:61), which, according to Karl Schlesier (1987), had been their homeland in prehistoric times before they moved east for many centuries. However their prehistory is interpreted, it is clear that Bear Butte and the Black Hills became the center of their territory when most of them moved to this region in the last half of the eighteenth century (Grinnell 1906:15, 1972:2:543; Powell 1969:4:467-469, 1982:2-4; Hoebel 1960:15; Schlesier 1974:4-6, 1987:54-55, 79-80; Moore, J. 1987; Moore, Liberty, and Straus 2001:863-864). It is also clear that they learned important sacred knowledge at Bear Butte from the Plains Apaches, three of whose women married Red Hat, an early Keeper of the Sacred Arrows, around 1780 (Ottaway 1970:94; Stands In Timber and Liberty 1967:242-244; Schukies 1993:187).

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Cheyennes were still allied with the Arapahos, Plains Apaches, and Kiowas, who often joined them on expeditions to trade at the Arikara villages. As Joseph Jablow (1951:58-59) rightly argues the Cheyennes had become a major middleman group in the region's trade, linking the Missouri River villagers with the more nomadic populations living near the Black Hills. This is also the time we begin to get a glimpse of the complexity of the Cheyennes' relations with the Lakotas.

The close association between the Cheyennes and Lakotas stretches back to the seventeenth century when they occupied adjacent territories in Minnesota and were considered a part of the same alliance formation. John Moore (1987:30-37) argues that a number of Cheyenne divisions, in particular the *Wotapio*, *Masikota*, *Totoimana* and *Omisis*, had Lakota and/or Dakota origins. Although one can certainly challenge some of the details in Moore's reconstructions of Cheyenne band histories, there is no question that D/Lakota speaking peoples resided with the Cheyennes throughout much of their recorded history. Tribal elders told George Bent that the *Moiseyus*, people of mixed Sioux ancestry, accompanied the Cheyennes on their westerly migrations to the Missouri River and the Black Hills in the early eighteenth century (Bent in Hyde 1968:12-14). D/Lakota speakers, or Sioux as they were commonly called in early historic sources, were certainly reported west of the Missouri in the company of Cheyennes at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1794, Truteau (in Nasatir 1952:310) noted the presence of a Sioux village on the Cheyenne River next to a Cheyenne settlement, some of whose inhabitants had been murdered by a Cheyenne named The Lance. In 1795, Jacques Clamorgan requested medals for Arikaras, Mandans, Cheyennes, and for "the Sioux who are living with the last named" (*quote taken from* Hurt 1974:125).

Cheyenne oral traditions certainly support the fact that their relations with the Lakotas were uneven at this point in history. According to George Bird Grinnell (1956:36-37), when the Cheyennes occupied the Black Hills area and settled the upper reaches of the Cheyenne River, there were no Lakotas present. As small bands of Lakota began to make their way across the Missouri, moving their belongings on dog travois, the Cheyennes took pity on them and gave them horses. But sometime after 1780, when Lakota movements infringed on the territories of the Cheyennes' allies, the Kiowas, war broke out and the Cheyennes appear to have been caught in the middle (Hyde 1937:24). Kiowa oral traditions reveal a great deal about their battles with the Lakotas (Mayhall 1971:30; Mooney 1979:156-157), although there is surprisingly little about these hostilities in Lakota winter counts for the same period. Since the Cheyennes depended on the Kiowas for horses, which they kept not only for themselves but also brokered to the Arikaras and Mandans in exchange for guns and other European trade goods, their relations with their Lakota relatives and friends must have been strained. Indeed, winter counts and oral traditions report a number of battles taking place between the Cheyennes and Lakotas, in this period, including one as far west as Rawhide Butte in Wyoming (Good in Mallery 1893:311; Hyde 1937:24; Howard, J. 1979:13; White Bull in Howard, J. 1998:11). These battles appear to have involved only some of the Lakotas because the Ben Kindred Winter Count indicates that the Cheyennes were aligned with the Soane Lakotas against the Oglalas and Sicangus (Beckwith, M. 1930:351), and this is also suggested in another source (Walker 1982:125). The fighting may well have involved only some of the Cheyennes too. Ironically, it was probably the Cheyenne *Wotapio* band, a group descended from intermarriages with Lakotas a century earlier, that became embroiled in this warfare: they were the ones who lived along the upper reaches of the White River and along the South Fork of the Cheyenne River, and they were the Cheyenne division who became intermarried and most closely allied with the Kiowas. Indeed, as their subsequent history indicates, many of them broke ranks with other Cheyennes and joined forces with the Kiowas, moving south of the Platte River at the dawn of the nineteenth century (Moore, J. 1987:218-225).

The other Cheyennes, including most of those from the ranks of the Omisis (with Totoimana, Masikota), Sutaios, and the Tsistsistsas proper (with Hisiometaneo, Heviksnipahis, Hevhaitaneo, Ovimana and Hetametaneo) tended to occupy the northern areas of the Hills and do not appear to have broken ranks with their Soane Lakota allies (Moore, J. 1987:229-234). Nonetheless, as George Hyde (1937:24) points out, the battles between the Lakotas and the Cheyennes were short-lived and a peace was reestablished between the two by 1810. At this point in history, the Cheyennes probably realized that they needed to rely on the Lakotas to help protect their ter-

ritorial and trade interests against the Crows, and there is considerable evidence in oral traditions and winter counts that the two were engaged in battles against the Crows north of the Black Hills after 1785.

G. Poncas and Omahas

The Omahas and Poncas were semihorticultural populations, who occupied village settlements along the lower stretches of the Missouri River in protohistoric times (O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992). These tribal nations were the first ones traders encountered as they entered the plains along the Missouri River. Their oral traditions reveal that they came from the Southeast, migrating to the central Plains by way of the Ohio River, across Iowa and Missouri, to their historic homelands in eastern South Dakota and adjoining areas of Nebraska (Howard, J. 1965a:14-15; Fletcher and La Flesche 1973:1:73-77; Wood 1993:79-80). From these traditions, we learn the Omahas and Poncas were forced out of western Iowa and Minnesota by the combined forces of Cheyennes and Dakotas, and for much of the early seventeenth century, they took up residence near the current site of Lake Andes where they received their sacred pole. Cheyenne oral traditions reveal they were aligned with Dakotas in this offensive war until a peace was made at the end of the seventeenth century (Fletcher and La Flesche 1973:1:73). During this time, the Cheyennes learned of the sacred pole that eventually became incorporated into their own Sun Dance (Schlesier 1987:75-76).

The combined forces of Omahas and Poncas traveled farther west to the valley of the White River where they built villages and hunted upstream in the years between 1730 and 1750. At this time, the Poncas moved even farther, following the Bad River to the country near the Black Hills, the place where they acquired horses from the Comanches (Howard, J. 1965a:7, 20-21, 130-133; Fletcher and La Flesche 1973:1:78-81, 102; Hurt 1974:86; Jablow 1974:92-93; Brown and Irwin 2001:416). During these decades, the Poncas appear to have intermarried with Arikaras and joined them on hunting expeditions into the Black Hills (Hyde 1937:15; Howard, J. 1965a:13). Indeed, archeaological evidence form *Nanza*, the Ponca trading fort on the Missouri River, reveals the presence of Arikara-style pottery (Wood 1993:105). It was probably during these hunting excursions in the 1740s that the Poncas learned about Wind Cave and the "little people" who lived in the mountains (Howard, J. 1965a:20, 26). In later years, it was during these trips that they encountered the Kiowas, who fought them and forced them to retreat to the Missouri River where they built their fortified villages at the mouth of the Niobrara River (Hyde 1937:15; Hurt 1974: 86).

Once again, tribal oral traditions closely match the written records. Some European maps from the early half of the eighteenth century locate the *Les Maha*, the Omahas, and the *Les Maha Nation errante*, referring to the Poncas, on the north side of the Missouri near present day Sioux City, Iowa and at the mouth of the Big Sioux River in South Dakota (Howard, J. 1965a:24; Wood 1993:80-86). When European traders began to arrive in the region during the 1790s, the Poncas were situated on Ponca Creek and at the mouth of the Niobrara (Nasatir 1929b: 535; Howard, J. 1965a:25; Wood 1993:83-89; Brown and Irwin 2001:416-417). Truteau, who wintered among the Poncas in 1794-1795, wrote that their main village was located about seven miles above the mouth of the Niobrara, and that they were middlemen carrying European goods north and west to other tribes, including the Arikaras (Howard, J.1965a: 25-26; Hurt 1974:107). Tabeau (in Abel 1939:99-101), who traded in the region between 1802 and 1804, wrote that the Poncas were ravaged by the smallpox epidemic that swept the area two decades earlier. As a result of their dwindling numbers, they were frequently preyed upon by the Lakotas/Dakotas and thus were required to retain a strong alliance with the Omahas.

On their ascent of the Missouri, Lewis and Clark stopped at Ponca Creek on September 5, 1804 but found the Poncas' village deserted because the tribe was away hunting buffalo (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:49-50). In their entry for this date and in the "Statistical View" section, Clark wrote that their numbers had significantly declined from the ravages of smallpox. He estimated their former strength was 400 men, while their present numbers were reduced to no more than 50 men. He also wrote that Poncas joined forces with Omahas on hunting excursions to the upper reaches of the Loup and Niobrara rivers, suggesting that their hunting grounds were much farther south now (Clark in Moulton 1983:3: 50-51, 399-400).

H. Arikaras and Pawnees

Like the Poncas with whom they had once intermarried, the Arikaras were devastated by the smallpox epidemics of the late eighteenth century. After they separated from their Pawnee relatives, migrating north and establishing villages on the Missouri around 1300 A.D., they became a powerful tribal nation with more than thirty-two different settlements scattered along the Missouri from the mouth of the Niobrara to the Grand River. Until the 1780s, their geographic locations, fortified villages, and large numbers made them largely invincible against the periodic attacks of their Sioux-speaking neighbors to the east (Parks 2001a:366-367). As Joseph Jablow (1951:52-56) astutely argued, the Arikaras tolerated the thievery of the Sioux because they were the principal source of trade goods before European traders set up their commerce at the Arikara villages.

From various tribal oral traditions, especially those of the Kiowas and Cheyennes, we know the Arikaras were major trade partners of these tribes. They were a tribe with whom both had extensive ties of intermarriage (Moore, J. 1987:100-102). Indeed, one of the Kiowa divisions, *K'at'a* [Bitters], was given the same name as the Arikaras (Mooney 1979:228). In their early years of trade with these two tribes, the Arikaras supplied corn and other agricultural products in exchange for meat and hides, but as the eighteenth century progressed, more and more products of European origin entered the trade and the Arikara villages became a hub of commerce where horses and Spanish trade goods from the Southwest were exchanged for guns and other commodities of British and French manufacture coming from the East (Parks 2001a:370-371).

One of the first reports of an Arikara presence on the Missouri comes from the writings of Bourgmont, who, in 1718, identified some of their numbers in the neighborhood of the Niobrara River (Hurt 1974: 85; Norall 1988:123; Parks 2001a:366). The Delisle Map from the same year places them near the James and Vermillion Rivers, but according to Wesley Hurt (1974:86), there is no evidence that they ever occupied this location, suggesting that the French still had no direct contact with them. In the 1730s and 1740s, other records reveal that the Arikaras were some distance above the Omahas on the Missouri, but that they visited with their relatives, the *Pani-Maha* (Skidi Pawnee), then located on the Loup River, with some degree of regularity (Hyde 1951:83-86; Parks 2001a:366). Melborn Thurman's (1988:435-441) careful interpretation of early maps of the Missouri River suggests that the Arikaras may have occupied a number of separate locations during the eighteenth century, either simultaneously or at different times. The history of their settlements on the Missouri has been substantiated by extensive, twentieth-century archaeological research, revealing that the early eighteenth-century stronghold of Arikara settlement was situated on both sides of the Missouri between the Cheyenne and Bad Rivers (Lehmar 2001:245-255).

It was at their locations along the Missouri River, as reported earlier, that various tribes from the Black Hills regularly came to barter with the Arikaras. The Arikaras, however, traveled to the

foot of the Black Hills as well, not only to trade but also to conduct their annual bison hunts. In 1742, the La Verendrye brothers met two groups, one of which, the *Gens de la Belle Riviere*, was probably in a winter hunting camp (Parks 2001a:967-968). The other group, *Gens de la Riviere Cherise*, was hunting in the neighborhood of Cherry Creek; the La Verendryes returned with them to the Missouri, where some of their villages were still located near the mouth of the Bad River (Smith, H. 1980:111-113). Victor Collot's map of 1796 also shows them on the upper reaches of the White River at this time (Hyde 1951:40-41; Wood 2003:50).

The Arikaras' strong position in the intertribal trade stayed in place until the smallpox epidemic of 1781 killed well over half of their population and seriously impaired the rest. When French traders from Spanish Louisiana first arrived in the area and set up trading posts at the Arikara villages, they described what had befallen the Arikaras and the tragic consequences this was having on their ability to defend themselves against the rising tide of Lakotas moving to the Missouri from locations farther east (Truteau in Nasatir 1952:300-301). Indeed, Hyde (1937:20-21) argued that the 1781 smallpox epidemic on the Missouri was a turning point in the western migrations of the Lakotas. With village populations such as the Arikaras and Poncas unable to fend them off as they had in the past, the Lakotas began to have unobstructed access to many crossing points along the Missouri and used these to reach hunting grounds that eventually took them to the Black Hills.

From the 1750s to the 1780s, Spanish records describe the Arikaras as a large population with seven villages, located some distance above the Omahas on the Missouri River (Hurt 1974: 83, 96). When Truteau arrived at their settlement near the Cheyenne River in 1794 (also situated at this location on Collot's 1796 map), he reported that only two villages remained (in Nasatir 1952:300-301). At these villages, some of the Lakotas had settled and taken up farming, but many more came simply to trade. Many Lakotas also used this location to cross the Missouri to reach hunting grounds along the Cheyenne River. Some of the Lakotas who arrived at the Arikara settlements clearly came in peace, but Truteau (in Nasatir 1952:310-311) notes that others took advantage of the situation to raid Arikara horse stocks.

When Tabeau lived among the Arikaras, from 1802 to 1804, they had abandoned their settlements at the mouth of the Cheyenne River and lived exclusively in the vicinity of the Grand River. As already noted, he wrote about their strong alliances with the Cheyennes and other tribes who lived in the neighborhood of the Black Hills. He also described their relations with the Dakotas and Lakotas, some of whom came to the Arikara villages to trade from areas as far east as the Minnesota River. Their ties to these tribes were more mixed, and as revealed by other traders, they vacillated between periods of peaceful co-residency and trade to times of raiding and pillaging (Tabeau in Abel 1939:131). The Arikaras, however, were clearly at war with the Crows, a hostility that the Cheyennes and Lakotas quickly took up as their hunting ranges extended into Crow territory. They were hostile to the Mandans and the Hidatsas, who at this point in history still posed a major competitive threat to the long-distance trade chain in which the Arikaras were located (Tabeau in Abel 1939:132; Jablow 1951:51, 56-58). In this situation, the Cheyennes tended to remain neutral, although the Lakotas and Dakotas often sided with the Arikaras in their battles with the Mandans and Hidatsas. When Lewis and Clark passed the mouth of the Cheyenne River on October 1, 1804, the Arikaras' former villages remained abandoned. The Arikaras were now concentrated in three villages: one located on Ashley Island above the mouth of the Grand River, where Tabeau lived, and the other two on the west bank by Oak Creek (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:400-401).

The Arikaras' relatives, the Pawnees and Skidi Pawnees, appear to have had little connection to the Black Hills other than as a location to raid their enemies (Hyde 1951:145-147). These

populations occupied village locations along the Republican River, the central portions of the Platte, and the upper reaches of the Loup Fork (Parks 2001c:515). Their annual buffalo hunts took them west towards the Rocky Mountains, but their long history of hostility with the Padoucas, followed by the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and Arapahos, and then by the Cheyennes and Lakotas probably prevented them from reaching the Black Hills except on military forays (Hyde 1951:39-82). Also, according to Douglas Parks and Waldo Wedel (1985) in their study of Pawnee sacred geography, most of the sites of religious significance to them were located in central Nebraska.

I. Mandans and Hidatsas

Farther north on the Missouri River, above the Arikara settlements, Lewis and Clark arrived at the villages of the Mandans, where they remained over the winter of 1804-05. The Mandans were another population of semihorticulturalists who, along with the Hidatsas, their northern neighbors on the Knife River, lived in large fortified villages. Of the two populations, the Mandans had the longest history of occupation on the Missouri River and lived there well before either the Hidatsa proper or their close relatives, the *Awatixa* or *Awaxawi* arrived (Stewart, F. 2001; Wood and Irwin 2001).

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Mandans and Hidatsas maintained regular and friendly contacts with many of the tribes in the region, including the Cheyennes, Crows, Kiowas (with Witapahas), Plains Apaches, and Arapahos, all of whom traveled to their villages on the Missouri to trade (Henry in Coues, 1965: 1:383-384; Lewis and Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:401-403; Laroque in Wood and Thiessen 1985:156-220). There is also evidence that Mandans and Hidatsas met the Cheyennes and other tribes to trade in regions south of their villages toward the Black Hills (McKenzie in Wood and Theissen 1985:280-281**)**, and that some established winter villages on tributaries of the Missouri River, perhaps as far south as the Cheyenne River (Bowers 1963:48-50).

The Mandans and Hidatsas appear to have taken their annual bison hunts towards the Black Hills, probably along the Little Missouri River (Bowers 1963:51; Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3: 234). In later years, Maximilian, Prince of Wied (in Thwaites 1966:2:346-347), reported that the Black Hills were considered a prime location for hunting elk and bighorn sheep, while Alfred Bowers (1950:210) reported the Hills as a location for eagle-trapping. Again, much of this hunting appears to have taken place on the northern peripheries of the Hills (Bowers 1963:49). There is no evidence that these tribal nations were in areas of the southern Black Hills where the Arikaras and the Poncas took their annual hunts, even though they reached this area on raiding expeditions (Bowers 1963:238, 259). Also, ancestors of the Mandans may very well have occupied some of the prehistoric horticultural settlements along the Cheyenne River at the foot of the Black Hills (Schlesier 1994:342-344). In earlier times, it is probable that the Mandan had a much closer relationship to the Black Hills area because one of their oral traditions refers to Bear Butte and the pilgrimages the tribe once made to this sacred landmark (Rosen 1895:54). By the time of the La Verendrye brothers, however, we get the distinct impression that the two Mandan guides who accompanied them were not comfortable in areas far beyond the Missouri.

The Hidatsas, strong allies of the Crows and Shoshones, were part of a trading block that stood in competition with the one connecting the Arikaras to the Cheyennes. The Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and Arapahos appear to have divided their trade allegiances between the Crows and Arikaras (Jablow 1951:51), a fact that may explain some of the early intertribal hostilities among some of these tribes. Even though the eighteenth century Kiowas and Arapahos who lived in the

Black Hills were reported to maintain contact with the Hidatsas and Crows, these associations were diminishing as the Cheyennes and later the Lakotas, both bitter enemies of the Crows, dominated regions bordering Crow and Hidatsa territories (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:426-428).[7]

J. Lakotas (or Teton/Western Sioux) and Dakotas (Eastern Sioux)

The Lakotas (also known as the Teton Sioux), along with some of the Dakotas -- mostly Yanktons, Yanktonnais, and Sissetons, certainly reached the Missouri River early in the eighteenth century from their primary settlements in Minnesota and adjoining regions of eastern South Dakota. Their winter counts list scores of horse raiding expeditions against the Arikaras, Hidatsas, Mandans, Omahas, and even the Crows and Shoshones far to the west beyond the Missouri River in the eighteenth century (Hurt, 1974:85; Kindred in Beckwith, M. 1930:351-353). In 1738, the La Verendryes reported Dakotan peoples making raids on the Mandan villages (Hurt 1974:88). If these raids followed patterns described at the end of the century, they were probably associated with peaceful trade encounters as well. Notwithstanding frequent forays to raid and possibly trade on the Missouri, there is no question that, before 1760, the winter settlements and hunting grounds of the main body of Lakotas were still far east of the Missouri in regions near Lake Traverse and Big Stone Lake in Minnesota.

In one oral tradition recounted by Nicholas Black Elk to John Niehardt in December of 1944 (DeMallie 1984:307-316), the Lakotas, along with their Cheyenne and Arapaho allies, lived to the south near a big water where a man named Slow Buffalo led them. At this time, they had already learned to make fire from the yucca plant, they had knowledge of the bow and arrow given to them at the Race Track in the Black Hills, and they also had knives and slingshots (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:311). At a great council led by Slow Buffalo, the seven divisions of the tribe were sent out to live at different corners of the earth (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:309). In these travels, they stuck together with the Cheyennes and Arapahos. The Cheyennes went south and west to find horses. As Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:314) states:

> The Cheyennes, the ones that went toward where the sun goes down, came as far as the Black Hills. There was another tribe that grew from this band, and they called them the Island Hill [*Witapaha*, Kiowas], by which I think they meant [that] the Sioux called the Black Hills at that time the Island Hills. Soon another tribe derived from the band and called themselves Island Hills. They are the ones who traveled back to the south, and there they ran into the horse.

Eventually, the Cheyennes met the Lakotas and gave them horses in exchange for bows, arrows, and other valued objects (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:315). When the Cheyennes and the Lakotas began to fight, the Lakotas got their horses from the Arapahos, who also remembered the story of Slow Buffalo, and like the Lakotas, they too received a pipe (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:315-316). From Black Elk's narrative, it is clear that these tribes were close allies, even though hostilities erupted for a time between segments of the Lakotas and the Cheyennes.

Another story of how the Lakotas acquired horses was told by an Oglala man named Left-Hand to Ella Deloria (Howard, J. 1980:20-21). It tells how two Lakotas were scouting for bison

[7] In light of this, it is important to point out that in contrast to the Cheyennes and Lakotas, whose sacred landscape became centered around the Black Hills in the nineteenth century, most of the Mandan and Hidatsa's origin stories and sacred sites were located in the Killdeer Mountains and at higher elevation buttes along the Little Missouri River (Bowers 1963:12). Much of the Crows' sacred landscape became attached to the Big Horn-Pryor Mountain region (Nabokov and Loendorf 1994).

and got trapped on the west side of the Missouri River because the ice broke up. Unable to return to the other side, they traveled upland where they met two men on horses who were Cheyennes. The Cheyennes took them to their large camp on the White River, treated them generously, and gave them horses. There is also an entry in Battiste Good's winter count (Mallery 1893:296-297) which reveals that the Sioux may have acquired horses from the Omahas and Poncas even earlier.

According to George Hyde (1937:15,18), Lakotas and Dakotas began to permanently stay on the Missouri River sometime around 1760 in small groups with few horses. Some of them, notably the Yanktons, lived amidst the Ponca in villages where they planted corn and other crops (Howard, J. 1980:11). Others, including some of the Oglalas and, later, the Minneconjous, settled among the Arikaras and also farmed (Tabeau in Abel 1939:104; Howard, J. 1980:21). The vast majority, however, did not take up horticulture and retained a more nomadic lifestyle. Their westerly movements in this and subsequent decades, as Gary Anderson (1980) argues, were stimulated as much by access to horses, new trading opportunities, and more favorable hunting grounds as they were by pressures coming from their Ojibwe enemies to the east.

Whatever the exact date of their entry into the country adjoining the Missouri River, it is clear from a letter written by Miro that the Lakotas had become the dominant group on the east bank of this river by 1785 (Nasatir 1929b:535). There is no question that their dominance was secured by the losses the village tribes sustained in the aftermath of the 1781 smallpox epidemic, which was also reported in Lakota winter counts (Good in Mallery 1893:313; High Hawk in Curtis 1907-30:3:168; Kindred in Beckwith, M. 1930:353; White Bull in Howard, J. 1968:9; No Ears, Short Man, and Iron Crow in Walker 1982:127). The declines suffered by the villagers gave the Lakotas an opportunity to cross the Missouri unimpeded and to establish settlement areas along its various western tributaries. Initially, the Lakotas used the White, Bad, and Cheyenne rivers to penetrate the plains beyond the Missouri, but, later, they followed the Moreau and Grand rivers as well (Hyde 1937:20-21; DeMallie 2001a:731). It was not until the following decade, however, that a more precise picture of Lakota locations and movements emerges.

As the larger body of Lakotas moved towards the Missouri in the 1760s, smaller groups were probably already crossing the river and beginning to travel towards the Black Hills (Vestal 1934: 260; Ewers 1938:5). The Ben Kindred Winter Count reports Lakotas securing shells from the Platte River for making knives and also mentions numerous raids against the Shoshones and the Crows between 1760 and 1830 (Beckwith, M. 1930:351-354). In addition, they must have retained some memory, and even some connection, with their relatives among the Cheyennes who lived near them in the seventeenth century and who had crossed the Missouri decades earlier.

The first written evidence of the Lakotas' arrival in the Black Hills, however, does not appear until 1775-1776, when a man named Stands Upright Bull was reported on the winter counts of American Horse and Cloud Shield to have returned to camp with a bough of *hante*, or cedar, from the enemy country (American Horse and Cloud Shield in Mallery 1987:130,131), or 1777-1778 in White Bull's count (in Howard, J. 1968:8). Other winter counts report a similar incident that took place a decade later (Good in Mallery 1893:309; High Hawk in Curtis 1907-30:3:168; Kindred in Beckwith, M. 1930:354; Red Horse Owner in Karol 1969:59; No Ears, Short Man, and Iron Crow in Walker 1982:127; American Horse and Cloud-Shield in Mallery 1987:130-131). One historian, James Hanson (1983:32), regards 1775 as the earliest possible date the Lakotas were ever present in the Black Hills, but it can be argued that this date simply marked one of many Lakota excursions into the Hills' region (Feraca and Howard, J. 1963:8). Judging by the date, this event may have signified the victorious return of a war party that waged a battle where one of the divisions of the Kiowas was nearly exterminated. John Ewers (1938:5) suggests that the Lakotas entered the Black Hills country earlier, around 1765, and Cheyenne oral

traditions lend support to this. For if the Lakotas were approaching the Black Hills with dog travois rather than horses, as the Cheyenne stories tell us, this would predate 1775 by several decades. In fact, the trader, Peter Pond (in Gates 1965:57-58), reports that the Lakotas, or western Sioux, were already well stocked with horses in 1774. Writings from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century (Larson 1997:25-27; DeMallie 2001b:725-727) suggest that the Lakotas were ranging widely on the prairies west of Minnesota, and prehistoric evidence from South Dakota suggests their early presence there as well (Michlovic 1985; Sundstrom, L. 1990:268-269; Gibbon 2003: 41-42).

George Hyde (1937:23) believed the Oglalas were already established in the Black Hills by the 1790s, the time when the Kiowas retreated from their locations on the Cheyenne River because of their warfare with the Lakotas. It is difficult to know exactly how far west Lakota settlements reached beyond the Missouri because most of the information for this period comes from traders who never entered the Black Hills. What can be established from the accounts of traders in the 1790s is that Lakota bands were making inroads along the lower reaches of a number of Missouri River tributaries, including the White, Bad, Cheyenne, Moreau, and Grand Rivers. Truteau (in Nasatir 1952:2:310-311), for one, reported several instances where Lakotas were encamped with Cheyennes or Arikaras. Some of the Lakota winter counts also call attention to this co-residency (Good in Mallery 1893:101-103). In reference to the Bad River, Truteau (in Nasatir 1952:2:379) wrote that the *Oconona* (Oglalas) "wandered habitually along the banks of this stream". McKay and Evans encountered a band of Lakota buffalo hunters on the White River (Nasatir 1952:1:99), and as already noted, Clamorgan requested medals for the Sioux who lived among the Cheyennes (Hurt 1974:125). If some Lakotas were residing with the Cheyennes, they probably covered the same country, which, at this time, most certainly included the Black Hills.

Even though some Lakotas were living among the Cheyennes, or, at the very least, sharing the same territorial range, relations between the two tribes began to deteriorate as larger numbers of Lakotas moved west of the Missouri (Hyde 1937:17, 24). In the last decades of the eighteenth century, hostilities broke out between the two and major battles were reported near Rawhide Creek in Wyoming in 1785-1786 and then again in 1793-1794 (Good in Mallery 1893:313; High Hawk in Curtis 1907-1930:3:169). It was during these years that the Cheyennes got caught in the middle of the hostilities between their Kiowa and Plains Apache allies on one side and the Lakotas on the other. But, as pointed out earlier, the Lakotas did not stand united in these hostilities because some of the northern Soane divisions remained staunch allies of the Cheyennes (Kindred in Beckwith, M. 1930:351; No Ears, Short Man, and Iron Crow in Walker 1982:125). According to Nicholas Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:314), it was the Oglalas who broke off relations with the Cheyennes and became allies of the Arapahos.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Black Hills remained at the western edge of the Lakotas' territorial range. Most of the Lakota bands who were beginning to live along the White, Bad, and Cheyenne rivers kept their main winter camps along the lower stretches of these waterways (Hurt 1974:173-174). At this time, many Lakotas most certainly traveled to the upper regions of these tributaries to hunt in the late summer and fall for reasons discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven (Larson 1997:23). A decade later, according to Tabeau's account (in Abel 1939: 107), the Sicangus, Oglalas, and Soanes had become firmly established on some of the Missouri's western tributaries, and a few of their camps were already as far west as the "forks" where the Cheyenne River divides into its north and south branches. At the same time, he listed the major divisions and subdivisions of the Lakota, which included: *Sitcanrhou-Titons* (Sicangu), *Okondanas* (Oglala), *Minekanhini-yojou* (Minneconjou), and *Saones-Titons* (Soane) (Tabeau in Abel 1939:103-104). He also reported that none of the Lakotas who were associated with the

Arikaras farmed any longer. All of the bands had horses, depended largely on buffalo and wild plant foods, and traveled over large geographic areas (Tabeau in Abel 1939:103-104).

Some Lakota bands also played a middleman role, bringing horses and other goods from the Missouri to their Minnesota Dakota relatives in exchange for European trade goods. In the late eighteenth century, Lac Qui Parle in Minnesota was the location of trade fairs between the eastern and western branches of the Sioux. In later decades, after the Lakotas acquired horses and moved farther west, these gatherings shifted to a location along the James River in eastern South Dakota (Tabeau in Abel 1939:121-122; Hyde 1937:20-21; Ewers 1938:24-25; Robinson 1967:25; Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:356). According to Hyde (1961:15-16), the site was called *Otuhu Oji* (Oak Grove), and it was situated on the James River due east of the mouth of the Cheyenne. This area persisted as a trade center well into the nineteenth century but began to diminish in the 1830s after the Lakotas became well established in the Black Hills (Hyde 1961:15-16).

When Lewis and Clark came up the Missouri in 1804, the Lakotas were reported on both sides of the river from the Big Bend near present day Chamberlain, South Dakota to a point just south of the Cannonball River in North Dakota. Even more specifically, the Sicangus were located on both sides of the Missouri at the Bad and White Rivers, while the Oglalas were placed near the Cheyenne River and the Minneconjous at the Moreau River. The Saones, including the Sihasapas and the Hunkpapas, were situated along the Grand River and at locations farther north interspersed with Arikara hunting camps (Moulton 1983-87:3:27-33,415-419). Within a time span of no more than three decades, the demography of this section of the Missouri River valley had changed, shifting from an area dominated by Arikaras, with a substantial number of Cheyennes and a small Lakota presence, to a region where the Lakotas were the dominant population, with a small group of Arikaras and a few Cheyennes in their midst. Farther west, the distribution of populations had also shifted since 1794, when Truteau's account offered the first detailed evidence on the subject. The territorial range of the Lakotas now extended to the eastern edge of the Black Hills, overlapping areas occupied by Cheyennes, whose territorial range, in turn, now stretched beyond the Hills to the Platte River, reaching areas once dominated by the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and Arapahos.

As these changes were taking place, Lakota hostilities with the Kiowas continued unabated, and their wars with the Crows and Shoshones intensified (High Hawk in Curtis 1907-30:3:169; Kindred in Beckwith, M. 1930:351-354). In the coming decades, it was along the Crow battlefront that the Lakotas would eventually realign themselves with the Cheyennes and intensify their alliances with the Arapahos. Their conflicts with the Mandans and Hidatsas began to escalate as well, placing the Arikaras in an untenable position that would soon force them to leave the Missouri and seek refuge among their Pawnee relatives on the Platte. Indeed, when the Lewis and Clark Expedition returned to the area in 1806, Clark reported the fighting had already begun and a large force of 700 Sioux warriors were moving north from the Arikara villages to fight the Mandan (Clark in Moulton 1983-87: 4:201-202).

Prior to 1790, it is doubtful that the Lakotas maintained a large, permanent presence in the Black Hills region. It is certain, however, that small Lakota raiding and hunting parties were in the vicinity of the Hills with some degree of frequency and that their activity in the region was a prelude to the larger population movements that would follow. It is very likely that, in keeping with the custom of the tribal nations who lived along the Missouri River, they frequented the Black Hills on a regular and recurring basis during the seasons of their large communal bison hunts. It is also highly probable that small numbers of Lakotas, especially from the ranks of the Oglalas and Sicangus, started to remain in reach of the Black Hills and near the region of Wind Cave National Park well before 1800, but they would have done so in the company of allies

among the Arapahos and/or Cheyennes. By the turn of the nineteenth century, however, they were staking their claims to these areas independently and in growing numbers (Hyde 1961:14).

III.WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK IN REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

From the time of the La Verendrye expedition in 1742 to the arrival of Lewis and Clark in 1804, the movements of tribal nations in and around the Black Hills underwent considerable change. The history of their tribal occupancy during these years is complex and at times confusing. One thing is clear, however: the Hills were never exclusively occupied by any single tribe. Instead, the tribal nations who entered, held, used, and defended large tracks of territory in and around the Black Hills did so in association with other tribes. In describing the tribal nations who occupied the Black Hills at the turn of the nineteenth century, Lewis and Clark (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:422) wrote that these populations did not "have any idea of exclusive right to the soil," which means that there were no geographic boundaries separating the territories they traveled. This lack of territorial exclusiveness was very common in the Plains region, and contrary to the conventional image of tribes being dispersed across the landscape like separate pieces in a jigsaw puzzle, populations of diverse ethnic origin were generally not separated by distinct territories but were interspersed over the same territorial ranges (Albers and Kay 1987; Binnema 2001). Territorial sharing went hand-in-hand with collaborations in trade and war.

This was no doubt true as well for the tribal nations who were occupying lands at or in the vicinity of Wind Cave National Park. There are no direct historical data on the nature of tribal use and occupancy in Wind Cave National Park during the protohistoric and early historic eras, although there is plenty of circumstantial evidence to reconstruct a probable, albeit very general, picture of tribal affiliations in this area. What can be pieced together from archaeological evidence, historic writings, winter counts, and tribal oral traditions reveals that peoples from at least nine different tribal nations lived at different moments in time in areas within easy reach of present-day park lands and probably used the area for seasonal settlement, food procural, and religious observance.

A. 1742-1781

During the middle decades of the eighteenth century, the Black Hills were probably held by tribal nations who comprised two separate, and, at times, warring, political blocs. One was situated on the northern and northwestern edge of the Hills and comprised primarily of Crows, Kiowas, Plains (Kiowa) Apaches, and Arapahos, who maintained important trade relations with the large and powerful village populations, the Mandans and Hidatsas. Another was centered on the southern and southeastern margins of the Hills and formed around Padouca Apaches and Comanches, who maintained important trade ties with the Poncas. The alliances of these three tribes with the Arikaras appear to have shifted because early reports indicate they were carrying on a trade with the Padoucas and Poncas, while later accounts suggest that these tribes were enemies (Hyde 1951:39-83). Whatever the case may have been, it is clear that, in later periods, the Arikaras were situated in a trade sphere that included the Kiowas, Plains (Kiowa) Apaches, and Arapahos.

A strong case can be made for the presence of Apachean-speaking peoples, commonly known as the Padoucas, in the vicinity of Wind Cave National Park from the sixteenth through the early eighteenth century. For reasons that are not at all clear, the Padoucas' powerful presence in the region was destroyed, leading them to abandon the area or join forces with other tribes,

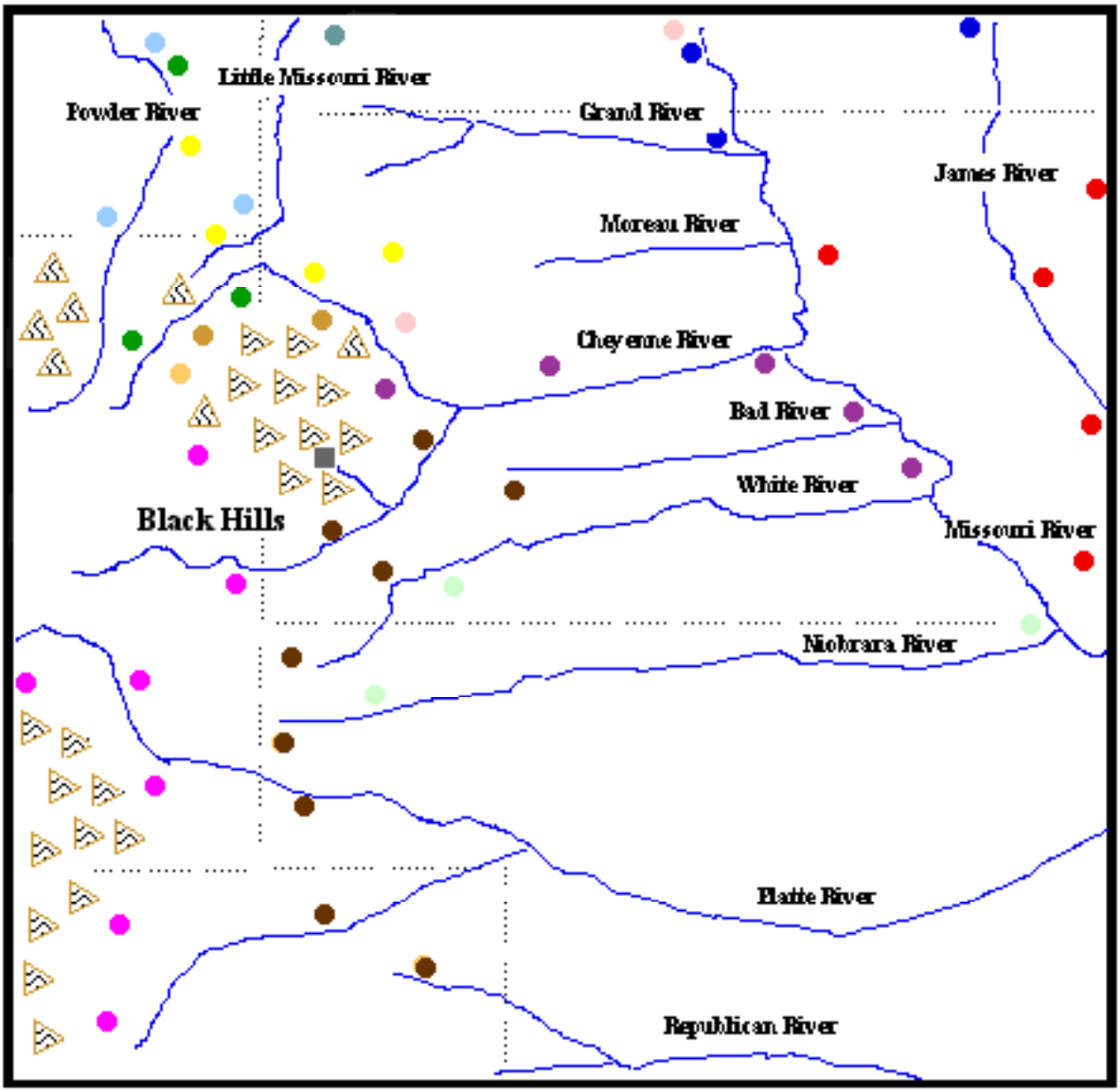
including some of their erstwhile enemies. Their disappearance as a separate and identifiable tribal nation by the end of the nineteenth century may have been a consequence of the disease epidemics sweeping the area, something that certainly played a role in the well-documented declines of Arikara and Ponca populations. As these tribes sustained huge population losses, other tribes began to enter and jostle for control of their territories.

Less solid but highly suggestive information lends support to the claim that some Comanches may have lived and traveled in this area at the same time too, although most of the population was probably in regions farther west. A few bands of Comanches apparently remained on the southern fringes of the Black Hills until the late eighteenth century, even though the main body of the tribe had migrated south to Texas and Oklahoma along the eastern flanks of the Rockies. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, most of the Padoucas and Comanches had disappeared from this region, although some appear to have remained as small remnant populations who became incorporated into other tribal bodies.

Sometime after the 1760s, much of the territory between the southern Black Hills and the Platte River became home to a large segment of the Kiowas as well as some Arapahos, Plains Apaches, and smaller numbers of allied Crows who lived in their midst. At this time, the Arapahos and Kiowas moved their territorial ranges farther south, taking up settlements on the southern side of the Hills, where Wind Cave National Park is located. In the process, they not only pushed out or absorbed the populations of Padoucas and Comanches who may have remained there, but they also prevented tribes like the Poncas from accessing their hunting grounds near the Black Hills. As these tribes began to inhabit the southern reaches of the Black Hills, the Cheyennes and their Sutaio allies were taking their annual hunts to the Black Hills and moving some of their settlements away from the Missouri River. Tribal oral traditions place the Cheyennes on the upper reaches of the White River and along the South Fork of the Cheyenne, both of which are locations within easy reach of the Buffalo Gap and Wind Cave National Park. The Cheyennes had close and friendly trade connections with the Kiowas, Arapahos, and Plains Apaches, but like their Arikara friends, they were not on good terms with the Crows. It is very likely that the Wotapio Cheyennes aligned themselves at this time with some of the Kiowas and took up residence along the upper reaches of the White River and the South Fork of the Cheyenne. It is also probable that the Sutaio and the Omisis Cheyennes began to penetrate areas along the northern edge of the Hills, where they became closely connected to the Plains (Kiowa) Apaches and Arapahos. The main body of Cheyennes and their related bands also started to move away from the Missouri and established some of their principal settlements near the forks of the Cheyenne River, an area also reputed to be a location for some of the Arapahos and Plains Apaches as late as the 1790s. Following rapidly in the footsteps of the Cheyennes were small groups of Lakotas who were beginning to gradually make their way into areas west of the Missouri River. The Oglala and Sicangu Lakotas pushed their movements towards the territories of the Wotapio Cheyennes and their Kiowa allies in the southern Hills, while some of the Minneconjou and Itazipco Lakotas pressed their migrations along the Cheyenne River in areas dominated by Cheyennes.

Until 1781, the Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara, and Ponca villages were large and well-defended trading centers on the Missouri River. These tribes were able to control the distribution of trade commodities, preventing tribes on either side from crossing the river and bypassing their advantageous geographic positions. These groups spent the greater part of the year at their village locations on the Missouri, but in the summer and fall, they abandoned them for extended periods to hunt buffalo, especially on ranges west of the river. Two of these horticultural populations, the Arikaras and the Poncas, took their hunts to the eastern and southern margins of the Black Hills.

FIGURE 2. Probable Tribal Locations, circa-1745*



Although there are no written accounts of Arikaras establishing camps in or near the southeastern Hills, there is ceramic evidence of their seasonal presence in the archaeological record. There are written accounts and oral traditions, however, to place the Poncas here, a tribe who used this area as a bison hunting ground during the middle decades of the eighteenth century and even had a name in their language for Wind Cave. When Ponca and Arikara numbers were drastically reduced after smallpox epidemics swept their villages, they were unable to launch these expeditions and move unaccompanied into areas dominated by enemy tribes. In the case of the Poncas, their foes were Kiowas; for the Arikaras, they were the Crows. The Poncas ultimately abandoned the area in the face of rising hostilities with the Kiowas. In time, the Arikaras aligned themselves with the Cheyennes, who served as a go-between in their peaceful encounters with distant tribes such as the Kiowas and who also became the Arikaras' allies in wars against the Crows. Neither the Poncas nor the Arikaras, however, were able to maintain their positions against the rising tide of Lakotas and Dakotas, who were now moving out of Minnesota in increasing numbers to reach locations near and beyond the valley of the Missouri River.

B. 1782-1806

After the 1781 smallpox epidemic decimated the semihorticultural populations who lived along the Missouri River, the Lakotas were able to cross the Missouri without obstruction and establish themselves along some of the major tributary streams that flowed from locations in and around the Black Hills. In the 1790s, some of them were reported at sites west of the Missouri, sometimes in the company of Cheyennes. Although Cheyennes still occupied villages near the Missouri, and apparently did so until the 1830s, the main tribal body was now firmly established in settlements near the forks of the Cheyenne River and at locations surrounding the Black Hills. From this strategic location, they played a central role in the trade of horses from the west against European trade goods coming from locations along the Missouri River (Jablow 1951).

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the Oglala and Sicangu Lakotas began to push their territorial reach towards the Black Hills along the tributaries of the White and Bad rivers, they came into conflict with the Kiowas. These hostilities engulfed some of the Crows too, and many of the battles the Lakotas fought against these two tribes are reported to have taken place at locations near Wind Cave National Park on the southern edge of the Black Hills in the vicinity of the Buffalo Gap and Battle Mountain. The Arapahos, who occupied this area as well, appear to have remained neutral in these struggles, while some of the Cheyennes aligned themselves, at least initially, with the Kiowas. This alliance was short-lived, however, and by 1810, some of the Cheyennes and Arapahos were fighting on the side of the Lakotas against the Kiowas. But other Cheyennes and Arapahos were neutral and continued to trade with the Kiowas and their Apache and Comanche allies. Eventually the Kiowas were routed from their locations at the southern edge of the Black Hills, and by the first decade of the nineteenth century, they had moved well south of the Platte River.

By the start of the nineteenth century, the Kiowas and some of their Apache and Comanche allies were beginning to push their settlements even farther south and out of reach of the Black Hills. Their southerly movements were the result of many factors beyond the threat of the Lakotas who were now penetrating the upper reaches of the White and Bad Rivers on the eastern edge of the Black Hills. One of the primary incentives for the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and Comanches to move south was better pasturage for their rapidly expanding horse herds. Another was the emergence of direct and more stable opportunities for trade with European Americans who were starting to build posts on the upper reaches of the Platte and Arkansas rivers. Whatever the reasons, we find little evidence of a Kiowa, Plains Apache, or Comanche presence in the Black

Hills after 1805, and when these tribes occasionally appear, it is usually in the context of trading or raiding. By the late eighteenth century, the Kiowas and their Plains Apache and Comanche friends had formed a major alliance bloc, whose members regularly traveled as far as Oklahoma and Texas to secure horses to trade with the Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Arikaras at locations along the foot of the Black Hills. Places such as Bear Butte, Horse Creek [a tributary of the Platte near Fort Laramie], and French Creek were well-known rendezvous points for this trade. Horse Creek remained an important trading location well into the nineteenth century, but Bear Butte and French Creek were no longer major trade sites for the Kiowas or Plains Apaches after 1807.

As the Kiowas pushed south, they became ever more removed from their long-standing and close friends, the Crows. Distance was not the only thing that separated the two: a wedge had now been driven between them as the Cheyennes and later the Lakotas took control of lands the Kiowas and Crows once shared and freely traveled. By 1804, when Lewis and Clark reported on the tribal occupation of the area, the Black Hills were held and completely surrounded by the Cheyennes with small numbers of Plains Apaches and Arapahos in their midst. At this point in time, most of the Arapahos and Plains Apaches had moved to the western side of the Hills and to locations along the Platte River and beyond. Small numbers of Lakotas probably lived among the Cheyennes on the eastern side of the Black Hills, although most historic documents for this period place them at locations closer to the Missouri River.

Once the Cheyennes' control of the area between the Missouri and the Black Hills strengthened, they became major competitors and enemies of the Crows, who were long-standing rivals of the Cheyennes' trade associates, the Arikaras. In their wars with the Crows, the Cheyennes called into play not only their strong links with the Arapahos but also their ties with the Lakotas, who were now moving in ever larger numbers into areas occupied by the Cheyennes. Along the Cheyenne River and the northern flanks of the Black Hills, the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos peacefully shared and co-occupied a huge tract of territory, which became even larger when the combined forces of these three tribes were able to successfully penetrate lands held by the Crows northwest of the Hills.

Meanwhile, along the southern flanks of the Black Hills, the relations between the Cheyennes and Lakotas were not so peaceful. The Cheyennes and Arapahos who settled in this area appear to have been caught in the middle of the heated and growing war between the Lakotas and the Kiowas. Indeed, some of the battles may have been fought at locations immediately to the south of Wind Cave National Park. Local historians commonly tell stories about a fight between the Lakotas and Cheyennes at Battle Mountain. The source of this information is unclear, for there is no evidence of a battle having taken place here either in written records or in tribal winter counts and oral traditions. In the battles reported in the historical record, some of the Cheyennes (probably Wotapios) seem to have sided, at least initially, with the Kiowas, but eventually, they made peace with the Lakotas with whom they shared common genealogical ties. This warfare illustrates an important fact: the bands that shared the same tribal identity were not always united in their relationships with other tribes. Even at this early date, there were hints of fractures within their ranks, fissions that would lead in later decades to the division of the Cheyennes and Arapahos into northern and southern branches.

It is clear that in the first decade of the nineteenth century, when Lewis and Clark wrote about the locations of tribes in the region, the lands between the forks of the Cheyenne River and the

FIGURE 3. Probable Tribal Locations, circa-1795*

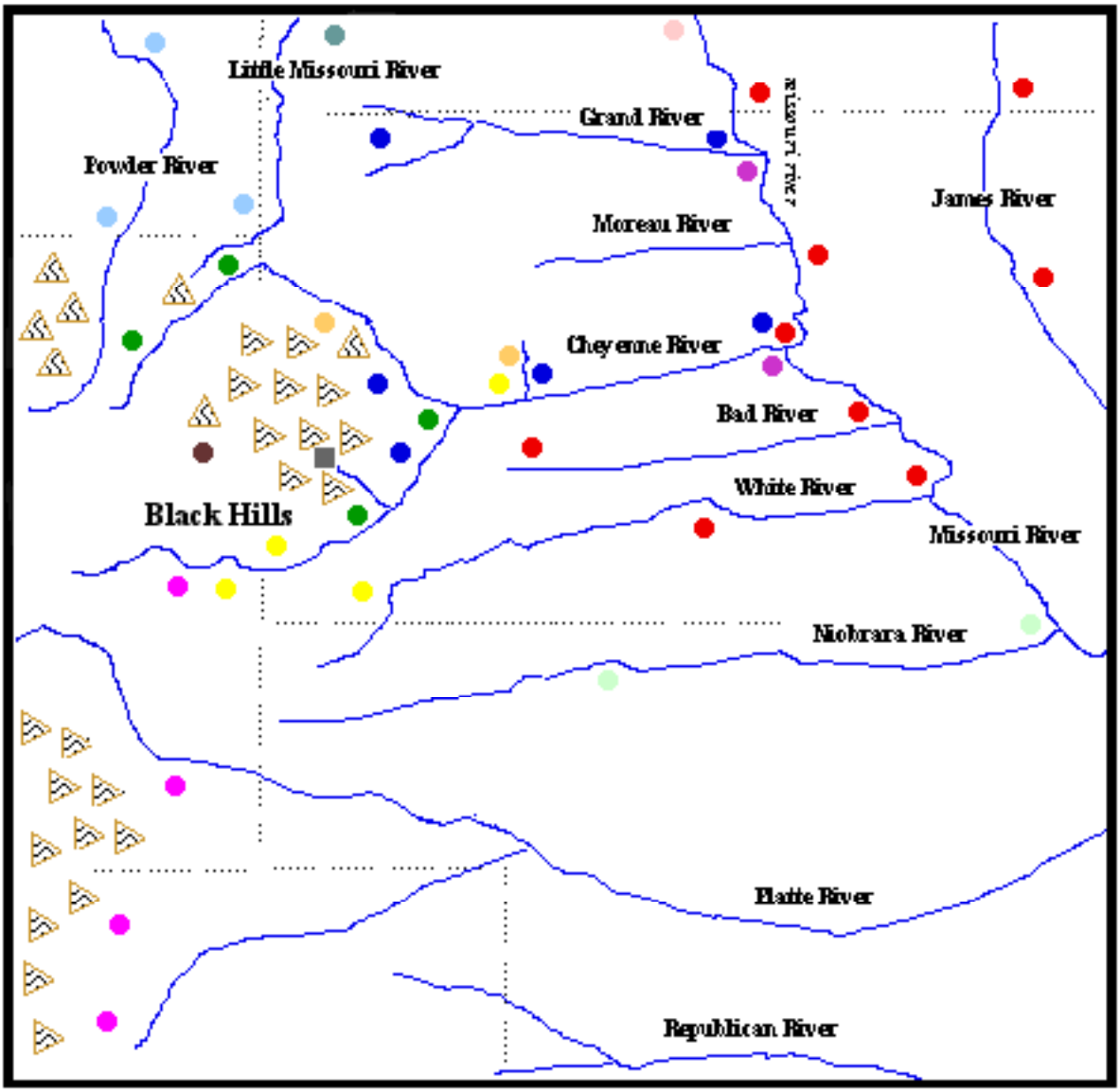
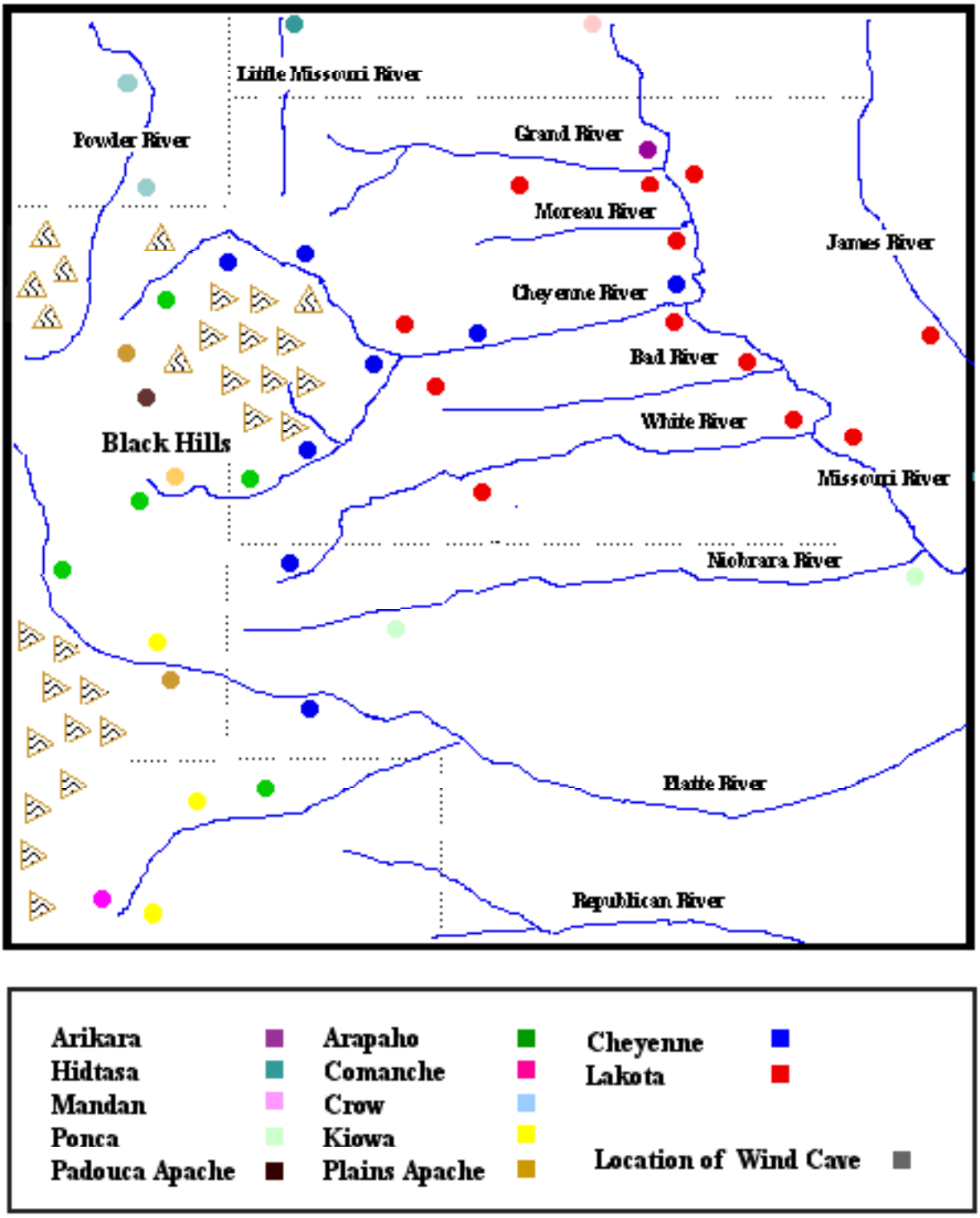


FIGURE 4. Reported Tribal Locations, circa-1805*



Platte, which included the southern Black Hills and Wind Cave National Park, were the shared territorial domain of the Arapahos and Cheyennes. Indeed, we can assert that the Hills were at the center of these two tribes' territorial ranges, with the largest concentrations of Cheyennes reported on the northern and eastern sides of the Hills and the main body of Arapahos located in areas to the west and south. It is probable that the Cheyennes were the dominant population in the neighborhood of Wind Cave National Park at this point in history. The Lakotas also probably had a recognizable but small presence. Most of the Lakotas still maintained their wintering sites along the Missouri River and the lower reaches of its western tributaries, although many were now taking their summer and fall hunts towards the Black Hills and in the region where Wind Cave National Park is now located. It was not until the decades after 1825 that the Lakotas became the dominant population in this region.

In the coming decades, the Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Lakotas would be the only populations regularly affiliated with the Black Hills. These three nations formed a strong alliance bloc and commonly collaborated in subsistence, trade, war, and ceremony. Eventually, they came to co-occupy and control a huge territorial range that stretched from the Missouri in the east to the Rocky Mountains in the west and from the Yellowstone River in the north to the Arkansas in the south. Even though their locations and their relative population sizes changed in relation to the Black Hills, all of them continued to live within the reaches of these mountains. All of them also shared strong cultural attachments to them until they were seized by the United States government in 1877.